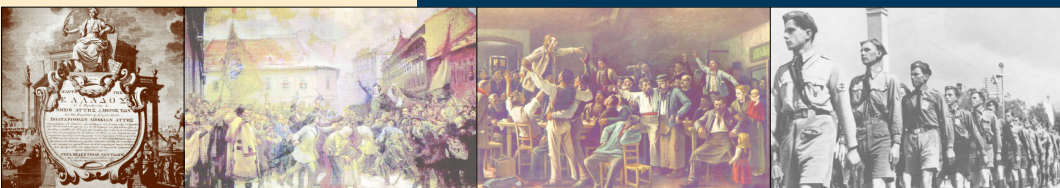


Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945)

Texts and Commentaries



Volume One:
Late
Enlightenment –
Emergence
of the Modern
'National Idea'



Edited by Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček

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(1770–1945)**

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VOLUME I

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EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

AHMET ERSOY, MACIEJ GÓRNY, VANGELIS KECHRIOTIS,
MICHAL KOPEČEK, BOYAN MANCHEV,
BALÁZS TRENCSENYI, MARIUS TURDA



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CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY PRESS
Budapest • New York

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Published in 2006 by

Central European University Press
An imprint of the
Central European University Share Company
Nádor utca 11, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary
Tel: +36-1-327-3138 or 327-3000
Fax: +36-1-327-3183
E-mail: ceupress@ceu.hu
Website: www.ceupress.com

400 West 59th Street, New York NY 10019, USA
Tel: +1-212-547-6932
Fax: +1-646-557-2416
E-mail: mgreenwald@sorosny.org

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ISBN 963 7326 52 9 cloth
978-963-7326-52-3
963 7326 51 0 ö

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Discourses of collective identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945) : texts and
commentaries / edited by Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-10: 9637326529 (v. 1)

ISBN-13: 978-9637326523 (v. 1)

1. Europe, Eastern--History--Sources. 2. Nationalism--Europe, Eastern--History--Sources. 3. Ethnicity--Europe, Eastern--History--Sources. I. Trencsényi, Balázs, 1973- II. Kopeček, Michal. III. Title.

DJK3.D577 2006
943.0009'034--dc22

2006000224

Printed in Hungary by
Akadémiai Nyomda, Martonvásár

LATE ENLIGHTENMENT
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Contributors

Ildiko Erdei, Ahmet Ersoy, Maciej Górny, Rigels Halili, Nikola Iordanovski,
Hamza Karčić, Vangelis Kechriotis, Paschalis Kitromilides, László Kontler,
Michal Kopeček, Pavol Lukáč, Boyan Manchev, Teodora Shek Brnardić,
Balázs Trencsényi, Marius Turda

Consultants

Bojan Aleksov, Sorin Antohi, Zrinka Blažević, Guido Franzinetti,
Miroslav Hroch, Maciej Janowski, Fikret Karčić, Jeremy King,
Paschalis Kitromilides, Pavel Kolář, Antonis Liakos, Elena Mannová,
István Margócsy, Diana Mishkova, Robert Pynsent,
Anatol Schmied-Kowarzik, Dušan Škvarna, Funda Soysal

Translations by

Mieczysław B. Biskupski (from Polish), Krištof Bodrič (from Serbian),
Anna Bryson (from Czech), Richard Clogg (from Greek),
Zornitsa Dimova (from Bulgarian), Ahmet Ersoy (from Ottoman Turkish),
Edward St. John Fairman (from Albanian), Rigels Halili (from Albanian),
Nikola Iordanovski (from Macedonian), Hamza Karčić (from Bosnian),
Elie Kedourie (from French), Mary Kitroeff (from Greek and French),
Mária Kovács (from Romanian), Zuzanna Ładyga (from Polish),
H. C. Robbins Landon (from German), Gordon MacLean (from Czech),
Michael J. Mikoś (from Polish), Dávid Oláh (from Hungarian),
Derek Paton (from Czech and German),
Iva Polak (from Croatian and Latin), Petr Roubal (from Czech),
Robert Russell (from Czech and German),
Teodora Shek Brnardić (from Croatian and French)

Copy-editor

Frank Schaer

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Acknowledgments

First of all, we would like to thank Diana Mishkova who supported the project from the beginning and has helped us far beyond the scope commonly expected from the director of a hosting institution to bring these volumes to completion. We are also extremely grateful to the entire staff of the Center for Advanced Study Sofia who facilitated our work immensely during our numerous meetings and provided a pleasant working atmosphere in all regards. We would like to thank especially Denitza Lozanova-Hinkova, who provided invaluable technical assistance to the project.

No collaborative project of this sort is viable without substantial financial help making it possible for the participants to meet regularly. We are grateful to the Prince Bernhard Cultural Foundation (The Netherlands) for providing generous funding which made it possible for the editors to meet on six occasions over the period of three years. When the first phase of the project was finished, the Foundation also offered a further grant to prepare the texts for publication. Without this generosity, it would have been impossible to share our findings with the broader public. Our special thanks goes to Wouter Hugenholtz (NIAS), who took upon himself the role of introducing the project to the Foundation and who followed with immense trust and sympathy our work throughout these years.

A natural focus of any comparative research in the region, the Central European University, also gave us generous help to accomplish our venture. Most of all, we would like to thank László Kontler and Sorin Antohi who have been with us from the very beginning of the project, offering logistic help, sharing their advice with us and also contributing to the volumes with their insightful introductions. We are grateful to Halil Berktaş (Sabancı University, Istanbul) for his intellectual support throughout these years and also for hosting us for a workshop in 2001 where the project was first presented to a broader academic public.

While preparing the manuscript for publication, the editors of CEU Press, Richárd Rados, Anikó Kádár and Linda Kunos, provided us with important advice and took care of the burdensome institutional side of the publishing with exemplary commitment. Last, but not least, Frank Schaer edited the material linguistically with utmost care and showed extreme empathy towards the various regional variants of pigeon English.

Finally, as we are presenting the work of young historians, it is all the more tragic to mention names of our colleagues who could not see the completion of our common venture. We should dedicate our final acknowledgment to the memory of Bledar Islami, Dávid Oláh and Pavol Lukáč.

Inter-texts of identity

The origins of the 'Identity Reader'

The history of this 'Reader' goes back to a meeting of a group of young scholars at the Balkan Summer University in Plovdiv in 1999. The lively interaction and debates engendered by this occasion highlighted the necessity of creating a common regional framework of intercultural dialogue. A year later, meeting in the same place, the idea of a 'Reader' containing a representative collection of fundamental texts that had contributed to and/or reflected upon the formation of narratives of national identity in Central and Southeast Europe was conceived. We envisioned this 'Reader' as a new synthesis that could challenge the self-centered and 'isolationist' historical narratives and educational canons prevalent in the region. We thought, too, that such a collection of texts could also be useful as a university textbook both in Central and Southeast European countries and in Western universities, making the intellectual map of Europe more diversified.

Although at the beginning it was more of an informal exchange, things became much more tangible when the Center for Advanced Study in Sofia, which was a newly established institution, agreed to host the project and when, with the help of Diana Mishkova and Wouter Hugenholtz, our project proposal reached the Dutch Prince Bernhard Foundation and received a generous grant. The ensuing research project, 'Regional Identity Discourses in Central and Southeast Europe, 1775–1945,' which soon came to be nicknamed the 'Identity Reader Project,' sought to provide a framework for discussing our respective intellectual traditions in a comparative manner.

A further ambition of the project was to enhance academic co-operation beyond the original group and to respond to the absence of more encompassing frameworks for studying the variety of national narratives of Central and Southeast Europe. Without such frameworks, it is difficult to compare different cultural phenomena in the region and to create a 'meta-language' that could adequately describe the common and specific features of these national traditions. This became obvious in the process of selecting the representative

texts. At first we were thinking about bringing together a number of ‘our’ key texts, but we soon realized that we needed a more systematic approach of selecting and commenting on these excerpts. Accomplishing such an endeavor not only required strenuous individual research activity, but also necessitated new analytical tools of comparative analysis, overwriting the ones rooted in traditional nation-state centered narratives.

The historiographical context

Since 1989, there have been numerous attempts to incorporate Central and Southeast European political and intellectual traditions into a synthetic volume.¹ However, the conceptual frameworks that were formulated during the Cold War have often prevailed. Many of the works dealing with this context were marked by the perspective of Area Studies, constructing a relatively homogenous image of the region and concentrating more on political and social issues, without taking into account *longue durée* cultural-ideological structures.²

Conversely, when produced by scholars from Central and Southeast Europe, these collective volumes tended to represent ideological and political interests. This is not to say that in the last 50 years the ambition of presenting the interconnection between these cultures was altogether lacking. As is well known, after the Second World War historians from the Eastern block published extensively, for example, on the “traditions of co-operation” among their countries.³ At the same time, the countries of the non-communist camp, Austria, Greece and Turkey, were often left out of any broader frame of comparison involving other countries of the region.⁴ Gradually, however, this imposed collaboration was abandoned and, often in line with the increasing nationalist tinge of late-Communist political discourse, the respective historiographies returned to the traditional symbolic geographies, seeking to document the privileged relationship of their culture with the Western European ‘core,’ or developing a self-centered—often outspokenly protochronist—narrative.⁵

After 1989, resting on similar Western experiences of “coming to terms with the past,” as in the exemplary French-German case, conferences and books started to proliferate in Central and Southeast Europe aiming at exploring the overlapping histories of two or more neighboring countries.⁶ In addition, as a reaction to what was perceived as the “monolithic vision dictated by the Communist Party,” much of the recent comparative work in and on

Central and Southeast Europe has focused on hitherto 'marginalized' topics, such as minority issues, gender relations, and sub-national or supra-national regional identities.⁷ The principal merit of these ventures, namely, that they focus on 'non-mainstream' intellectual traditions, also poses a serious limitation to their influence, as they are not tackling the core of the national discourse. Furthermore, the comparative aspect often appears only at the level of choosing the topic of research, but in fact the interpretations, provided by mainstream historians coming from the respective countries, follow the lines of the self-centered historiographies the present editors wish to replace. Moreover, the majority of volumes with 'synthetic' ambitions, be they textbooks, specialized volumes or historical essays written in and on the region during the last decade, also assume implicitly (if not explicitly) the exceptionality of the national perspective by partitioning their material according to "national stories."⁸

From this point of view, the 'Identity Reader,' while drawing on the results of these comparative ventures, offers a radically different method of presenting and comparing various texts crucial for the understanding of the national traditions of Central and Southeast Europe. In other words, it suggests a re-conceptualization of the reader's relationship with these cultures and insists on rethinking them in an intra-regional context. By making such a collection of texts available, the 'Reader' seeks to propose a set of analytical tools for the reconsideration and re-evaluation of certain key tenets of the 'local' historiographies, challenging the purported uniqueness and incomparability of the respective national cultures. Furthermore, by outlining the evolution and vicissitudes of regional self-assertion and the mechanisms of mimetic competition and 'rejection,' such a source-collection also helps to put the topic of national identity into its proper historical perspective.

At this point, a short note about the *geographical* dimension of the 'Reader' is necessary. The project brought together scholars from Austria, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, the Republic of Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Turkey. While we sought to invite representatives from all of these countries, we wanted to avoid essentializing the actual political geography. In some cases, texts from other 'national canons' were also included—'canons' that in a particular historical moment corresponded to the 'core' cultures of the project (for example, some Lithuanian political writings related to the Polish identity discourse), but, unfortunately, their complex interplay with the 'national canons' in question could not be fully taken into account. Apparently, the geographical contours of this project resemble, to a

certain extent, the borders of the two empires of Central and Southeast Europe, the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman. There is, however, no essentialism in this historical reference—as a matter of fact, any selection would have overlapped with a past or present political configuration and thus also with a potential ideological ‘ordering.’⁹

Even though we tried to include some texts of regional movements (Moravia, Transylvania, nineteenth-century Macedonia), which were articulated in contrast to the thrust of nation-building, we could not offer an adequate treatment of cultural traditions which were linked to non-state-building ethnicities in the region, such as the Jews, Roma, Ruthenians, Armenians, Kurds, Transylvanian Saxons or Macedonian Vlachs (Aromanians). Their absence in the ‘Reader’ is not the result of any professed attempt on our behalf to retrospectively ‘homogenize’ and ‘nationalize’ these regions; it is mostly due to the lack of human and institutional resources needed to involve specialists who would have been able to elaborate on these cases. We are conscious that the parallel processes of nation-formation in the region deeply affected all these cultures; in some cases this catalyzed comparable nation-building narratives (such as the case of Zionism), while in other cases (Vlachs or Saxons) the external pressure of nationalization aimed at superseding these communal identities. We can only hope that another project will follow in the footsteps of this one, mapping the discourses of identity of various ethnic and linguistic communities that could not be included in the ‘Reader.’

The main aim of our venture was to confront ‘mainstream’ and seemingly successful national discourses with each other, thus creating a space for analyzing those narratives of identity which became institutionalized as ‘national canons.’ However, the heuristic value of the project lies not in a mere compilation of national identity-discourses, but rather in the intensity and frequency of scholarly interaction, opening up these traditions to each other. For this reason, the experience of interpretative ‘negotiation’ and the final product of the project, the ‘Reader,’ are of equal importance. Furthermore, the intellectual co-operation engendered by this project demonstrates the importance of personal relations and academic exchange. The series of workshops organized and co-organized by the members of the Project group (hosted, in turn, by the Central European University, Budapest; the Sabancı University, Istanbul; the Huizinga Institute, Amsterdam; NIAS, Wassenaar; and the Center for Advanced Study, Sofia) helped create and develop a broader network of young scholars dealing with the issues of national identities in Central and Southeast Europe.

On the whole, the ‘Reader’ is expected to fill in the lacunae concerning the knowledge of Central and Southeast Europe pertinent to the very core of the schooling process and academic socialization in the respective countries. It is hoped that our project will broaden the field of possible comparisons and make researchers look at the process of nation-building in Central and Southeast Europe from a comparative perspective. Along these lines, the methodological approach suggested here could be useful not only within the geographical or chronological frames of this project, but could also serve as an incentive for other comparative ‘identity readers’ dealing with other places and different times.

Methodological considerations

The main ambition of the ‘Reader’ is to contribute to the emergence of a non-nationalist vision that refutes the restraints of national grand narratives. It seeks to investigate cross-cultural links and shared experiences; while, at the same time, remaining attentive to the plurality and specific characteristics of the various cultural and political identities under consideration. We sought to achieve this goal with the help of methodological precepts elaborated during our discussions. A field of historical scholarship that was especially helpful in shaping the theoretical foundations of our research was the intellectual history cultivated at several research and university centers in Europe and North America. One can roughly distinguish three main paradigms: the so-called ‘Cambridge school’ of early modern political thought represented, among others, by Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock; the influential German *Begriffsgeschichte* approach represented, above all, by Reinhart Koselleck; and finally, the French ‘post-Annales’ history of *mentalités* and socio-cultural history of writing and reading.¹⁰ Many of their common features notwithstanding, these approaches are rooted in their respective institutional backgrounds, cultural settings and historiographical traditions. As the encounters and debates of their representatives in the last decades have proved, they show significant divergences in many aspects, despite efforts to bring closer if not harmonize these methodologies.¹¹ Aware of these complexities, we preferred to avoid subscribing to a particular school or theoretical perspective. Nevertheless, we remained sensitive to the theoretical and methodological contributions of these traditions and reflected on the possible application of this eclectic methodological agenda to the Central and Southeast European context.

In contrast to the traditional history of political ideas concentrating on the 'eternal dialogue' of great thinkers from Plato to Heidegger, the 'new intellectual history' emphasizes the historical context of the given thinker or intellectual tradition. At the same time, this 'contextualization' does not prioritize institutional structures, mechanisms of political decision-making, or specific political group interests in understanding a given ideological statement, but concentrates on the formation and development of the political and cultural discourses and the role of concepts working within them. Such an interpretative approach does not intend to provide an exhaustive description of the given historical phenomena; instead it defines the respective discursive fields by analyzing representative 'meaning-producing' texts and situating them with respect to their multiple, interacting contexts of creation and reception. On the whole, intellectual history does not disregard the social, political, and institutional structures, but seeks as well to profit from the prolific dialogue with other approaches of recent historical scholarship, above all, the various schools of cultural history.¹²

By employing mostly 'West-European' historical scholarship, we were aware of the fact that the research on the political and social thought in Central and Southeast Europe reveals several peculiar features. One has to reflect on two phenomena in particular: first, there are discontinuities in terms of economic and cultural development, including the emergence and evolution of political cultures, that appear in the background of the relatively linear pattern of modernization in the assumed 'core'; second, the asymmetric process of cultural transmission in which the semantic structures of modern political and social identities and ideological options are formed in constant interaction with the familiar though external 'Western' semantic frameworks. Thus, a situation emerges where different layers of modernity with their reflective and normative elements incorporated within an 'abbreviated' time-frame are often coexisting and/or clashing with each other. The emergence of political modernity in the region relates to the import and adaptation of the political and meta-political discourses from outside the region and reflects how modernity itself became a peculiar 'language of politics' or matrix of political languages. In this sense, our project sought to contribute to the re-thinking of the very notion of modernity, in line with some major tendencies in contemporary political philosophy.¹³

One of the results of the coexistence of various social temporalities and semantic fields is the emergence of antagonistic conceptual structures, such as the duality of the terminology of statehood and nationhood. The symbolic confrontation of 'state' and 'community' gave birth to two relatively com-

pact and differentiated 'political languages.' The state-oriented discourse related to the introduction of modern political forms, their legal-constitutional framework and legitimizing structures; in contrast, the community-oriented discourse, often 'imported' as well, focused on 'autochthonous' foundations, the organic and anti-political capacities of the historical and metaphysical being of the community.

These considerations about the nature of political thought in the region provide a starting point to further enquiries concerning the analytical tools and methodological strategies used in the research. First, we had to reach a consensus on various concepts such as 'identity' and 'canon of identity-building texts' that organized the methodological framework of the 'Reader' as a whole. Secondly, we had to confront the idea of national uniqueness, paramount in the self-definition of these cultures. Finally, we had to inquire into the nature of historical comparison.

Some words of caution are needed here with respect to the central notions in the present work, namely, *identity* and *canon* of 'identity-building texts.' The concept of identity has a long and complex history and its meanings in different historical contexts are often incompatible. It emerged as one of the central categories of modern logic with Leibniz and Locke and later became an important concept in German idealist philosophy, especially in the works of Schelling and Hegel. In the twentieth century the notion expanded, and through the mediation of psychology it became virtually omnipresent in the contemporary academic discourses of political, social and cultural studies.¹⁴ Such a hypertrophied usage eventually devalued the term. For this reason employing this concept is a risky endeavor. One should be aware of the fact that especially the formula *national identity* is a recent meta-linguistic formation, which should not be 'ontologized' but used as an operational tool. In turn, our approach was based on a functional, pragmatic and—more importantly—*epistemological* compromise. In general, the referential schemes employed in the 'Reader' are considered as operational tools, which could be transformed according to the new phenomena to be investigated, rather than the opposite—transforming the phenomena according to our theoretical and referential schemas. For the same reason, some of the overburdened notions, such as 'discourse,' are used out of necessity in the present context, as semantically 'open' concepts rather than as fixed concepts with rigid formulations. We hope that such a use can only improve their operational value and their descriptive and analytical flexibility.

'National identity,' as a sort of collective identity, is constituted by the 'discursive' practices rooted in but not derivable from the social praxis.¹⁵ This dis-

cursive construction of national identity formats the temporal axes of past, present and future by organizational criteria, such as 'origin,' 'tradition,' 'change,' 'eternity,' 'anticipation'—relating them to a particular community.¹⁶ The process of national identification is thus characterized by the discourse of national 'uniqueness,' which is, after all, a relational term similar to ideas of 'sameness' and 'difference.'¹⁷ In this respect, 'identity-building texts' do not refer only to political writing or literature. From the perspective of the identity-building process, the genre of the chosen texts is less important. What matters is the ideological function and appropriation of the text.¹⁸

In order to establish the ideological function of these texts, they need to be localized—put 'on the map' of ideological traditions. Moreover, apart from *diachronic* conceptual transformation, we should also be aware of *synchronic* divergences in a given tradition, due to the incompatibility of the different discursive modes related to different genre-practices. From this point of view, one has to ask again, what kind of texts are to be identified. The answer is quite simple: 'identity-building texts' are practically *any kind* of texts. To give one example, even texts which do not have an explicit public function, such as private correspondence, autobiographical notes and so on, could be invested *a posteriori* with ideological function in terms of collective identity. Hence, our collection of texts extends from national anthems and constitutions to revolutionary songs and historical novels, from political or cultural manifestos to philosophical treatises. The 'Reader' refers virtually to any written text that significantly contributed, in one way or another, to the process of national and regional identity formation. However, this does not imply that only 'canonized' texts, subsequently mythologized and/or institutionalized by their respective national traditions, were to be collected. Texts that attempted to formulate alternative projects of collective identity or critically examined the contemporary mainstream were also included. This brings us to two crucial methodological points, namely, the disposition of the 'national canon' and the text-context relationship.

The 'national canon' in 'text and context'

How can one propose a balanced selection of texts representing a 'national canon?' First, the crucial notion of *canon* is another one which should be used with caution. After all, we share the epistemological skepticism about this notion, used, and abused, to some extent, in the literary theory of the last few decades. However, it seems to be the most appropriate term for our purposes.

Canon refers to an ensemble of texts with a certain grade of 'representativity' and a clear normative effect. Every attempt to construct a canon is already a *(re-)construction*—and it is this paradoxical situation that guarantees its existence. However, one of the main tasks is to be attentive to the various aspects of representativity and, consequently, to select texts presenting not only the dominating national narrative (which is always related to a given historical moment and ideological trend), but also the competing attempts at creating a 'canon,' or the suppressed side of a given canon. In addition, one should not forget the process of historical mimicry of the canon, the fluctuations in its composition. Being in a process of constant retrospective (re-)production, the canon allows us no possibility of viewing it as an a-temporal structure.¹⁹

Consequently, only texts that are mediated by other texts were selected. In other words, only the relationship between a text and other texts could prove its 'canonical' function. On the other hand, the typical canonical texts are supplemented with a number of texts which are relatively unknown and which were not so influential in the process of identity-, and canon-building, but are crucial for understanding that very process. These texts reflect the identity and the making of the canon. Moreover, in order to locate the texts as accurately as possible, they should be analyzed in their content and form—here different kinds of discursive strategies could be discerned, namely, constructive, justifying, transformative, destructive and so on—but there should also be an outline of how extra-, and intra-cultural transmission occurred and of the processes of cultural institutionalization and canonization. It is thus possible to 'negotiate' and compare differences and similarities as well as to reconsider these canons within broader—transnational—cultural and political frameworks.

This does not mean, however, that the project intends to construct a supra-national canon (or even identity) by domesticating the specificity and idiosyncratic nature of local traditions. This collection of texts aims at giving voice to collective features and local specificities as well as at exploring the complexity of the process of canon formation and the competition of alternative normative formulations of the given community. It is nonetheless important not to *discipline* the local projects by undermining their potentiality and creativity. We hope to have avoided projecting a universal teleological scheme of development on these cultures, and, conversely, we are suggesting a framework that strives to combine two crucial aspects: *the transformation of cultural patterns* (e.g., Enlightenment and Romanticism) and *the emergence of national ideologies and movements* (i.e., the organizational phases of 'nationalization').

The second methodological question concerns the relationship between text and context. Most historians tend to establish “a hierarchical dichotomy between texts and contexts,” stressing the abstraction of most texts and the essential reality of social or political contexts. In contrast, our examination of the selected texts sought to take into account the auto-referential and productive power of ideological and/or figural discourses. In this respect we tried to base our work on a textualist approach, not without influence from those models that employ the methods of literary studies in analyzing historical problems and texts.²⁰ In other words, although we took the socio-cultural context into account, we did not seek to construct it as a reality that exists beyond interpretation or outside the text. In many ways, we were aiming at an “inter-textual reading” of these cultures, a reading that re-positions the relationship between text and context.

Our approach is thus *textual*: it collects identity-building texts and does not seek to introduce a sample of the “representative figures” of the national canons *through* texts. Thus, the figures of the canon are important only through their textual being—their *textualization*. One example is illuminating: Vasil Levski, the canonical figure of the Bulgarian national tradition, wrote no programmatic text that could have become an ‘identity-building element’ as a text, so he could not be presented in the ‘Reader’ as an ‘author.’ However, some of the most famous works of Bulgarian national romanticism were devoted to him, which means that he is part of the Bulgarian national canon and, respectively, of the ‘Reader’ as a literary but not as a historical figure, as a textual object but not a subject. In this sense, the textual canon we are suggesting is in pronounced opposition to the accepted national ‘pantheon.’ To put it differently, what is suggested in the ‘Reader’ is an alternative perception or rethinking of the standard concept of the unity of national history. Largely, this constituted one of the main ideological implications of our research. By unveiling the heterogeneity of the canons and of the process of identity-building, and by pointing out the composite nature of national identity itself, the ‘Reader’ questions the metaphysical boundaries that underlie every nationalist project.

Anthologies of ‘identity-building’ texts:

The idea of an ‘Identity Reader’ is far from being a novelty in the region. In their original form, however, such works often served the canonization of the mainstream national discourse, as a kind of popular national breviary,

rather than promoting any sort of critical perception. The examples from the interwar period usually fall into this category. The underlying political agenda varied, of course, very significantly. In some cases the main aim was to support the newly established statehood by historical arguments, the most illustrious examples of which were the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav political projects.²¹ In other cases such readers were the results of an endeavor to codify an 'orthodox' reading of the respective nation-building process.²²

After the Second World War it became possible to produce such readers with a less explicit political agenda. Thus, collective projects emerged, which sought to incorporate more than one national case,²³ while a number of national 'readers' aimed at 'substantiating a scholarly venue' for mapping the varieties of intellectual history of the given culture.²⁴ As the communist regimes in the region had a highly ambiguous relationship to the national discourse, it is not an accident that many of the 'Identity Readers' were published outside of these countries. This also meant a shift in the targeted audience: while the earlier examples we came across were aimed at the 'nationalization' of the local population, these editions usually sought to display the 'national canon' to an external—Western—audience, stressing the importance and richness of local traditions and, by implication, asserting the cultural—and often political—independence of these countries.²⁵ At the same time, however, there were also the attempts of Communist parties to accommodate the proverbial 'progressive' national traditions as a legitimization tool, which found its expression *inter alia* in officially supported publications of such national identity readers.²⁶

In contrast to the communist camp, in the Greek case collections of identity building texts had different ideological functions. The search for ideological references following the Civil War between communists and royalists (1944–49) generated, mainly in the 1960s, ambitious multi-volume projects, primarily concerned with publishing primary sources.²⁷ These collections contained strong ideological statements about the fundamental values of the Greek national character in a period when Greek nationalism was challenged by the communist ideology. In Turkey, on the other hand, with the dissolution of the single party regime and the rising tenor of populism following the Second World War, there was a growing tendency to embrace and eulogize the Ottoman Empire as a unique and exclusive political-cultural entity. The trend reached its climax under the auspices of the 1980 junta, and was enhanced thereafter with the overtones of a distinctive Turco-Islamic identity. While the authority of nationalism (under different forms) was undisputed throughout the Republican years, the production of a comprehensive body of

texts on national identity was never realized, possibly due to the continued existence of multiple (and sometimes contesting) loci of identity (the Ottoman realm, pre-Ottoman Islamic dynasties, Central Asia, Anatolia).

In addition to the collections of texts explicitly meant as compendia of national identity, we can also classify some of the thematic anthologies published in and on these countries as 'Identity Readers.' A good example is provided by the collection offering an insight into the Hungarian debate on regional identity in the twentieth century, which was connected to the re-emergence of the idea of Central Europe.²⁸ In a similar vein, a number of historical collections transcended the national boundaries, trying to encapsulate the question of national identities in their former imperial setting, as was the case with the Habsburg successor states.²⁹

The 1970s and 1980s was a period of an increasing crisis of legitimacy of the communist regimes. The public sphere became open, once again launching the quest for an 'authentic' national canon supposedly falsified or deformed during previous decades.³⁰ These offers were all the more ambiguous as the rekindling of national identification was part of the mobilization technique of late-Socialist political management all over the region. In other cases, these attempts had a more state-oriented character aiming at corroboration of the desired identification with the particular 'national' state.³¹ A similar renegotiation took place in Greece as well during the last years and after the fall of the military junta (1967–1974). A series of critical editions of important texts of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, whose authors had only a marginal place in the national canon, seemed to fill an intellectual gap regarding the historical origins of liberal, democratic and socialist ideas in modern Greek society.³² Moreover, the old debate on *Hellenicity* which had taken place in the 1930s was critically reviewed under the pressing need of getting rid of its nationalist ballast.³³

The variety of uses of such 'readers' testifies to the profound ambiguity of canon-building in the region. A case in point is the monumental four-volume anthology edited by the Romanian literary historian Iordan Chimet, entitled 'The Right to Memory,' offering a wide panorama of Romanian discourses of identity throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Conspicuously enough, the editor collected these materials in the early 1970s, when the independentist turn of First Secretary Nicolae Ceaușescu encouraged a number of previously marginalized intellectuals to come to the fore with their project of recovering the national tradition suppressed by the Stalinist regime. The hopes of Chimet and many of his contemporaries proved illusory—while the regime welcomed the re-narration of national identity, it also sought to con-

trol it ideologically. When Chimet refused to take out from his collection some of the—émigré—authors who were unacceptable to the regime, the manuscript was shelved and could only be published two decades later.³⁴

After 1989, projects of compiling a collection of formative texts of national and/or state identity could be found in virtually every country of Central and Southeast Europe. Again, this time many such readers became part of the effort to root the legitimacy of newly established states in history, more obvious in cases of the former federal states.³⁵ It is not surprising that the most extreme example of the renewal of the older paradigms of national identity as opposed to the previous official identity discourse is to be found among the successor states of the former Yugoslavia.³⁶ Simultaneously, however, one could witness the emergence of scholarly endeavors aimed at a critical reflection on the formation and historical development of national identity in Central and Southeast Europe. An especially successful attempt along these lines was the volume titled 'The Slovak Question in the twentieth century,' which featured a representative selection of texts illustrating Slovak identity options, and which was published by a Hungarian editing house in Bratislava, in two languages (Slovak and Hungarian).³⁷ Another intriguing example is the Bulgarian anthology edited by Ivan Elenkov and Roumen Daskalov.³⁸ The volume comprises texts mainly from the first half of the twentieth century presenting a set of debates on national character. In a similar vein, the collection edited by the Czech sociologist-historian Miloš Havelka depicted the alternative conceptions of identity through a particular debate, in this case the polemic about the meaning of Czech history launched by T. G. Masaryk in the mid-1890s,³⁹ while the Serbian Miroslav Jovanović brought together and interpreted the formative texts of the debate on the making of the Serbian literary language at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Another exemplary project is the Ukrainian 'Identity Reader' edited in Canada, which had a broader temporal ambit than the ones mentioned above, offering an overview from the eighteenth century onwards.⁴¹

In Greece, although the 1990s were obviously not marked by the same impetus of transformation, we come across collective works which encapsulate the social and cultural transformations triggered by the experience of accession to the European Union, a process marking the fulfillment of efforts of westernization related with the nation-state building project ever since the foundation of the Hellenic republic.⁴² Parallel to and as a reaction to this, a renewed interest in Orthodoxy resulted in reproductions of texts that underlined the non-Western character of the Greek nation.⁴³ Finally, the 1990s brought a transformation of the identity-discourse in Turkey as well, leading

to new projects of canonization. The rising prestige of identity politics, the pressing anxieties of the Kurdish question and the prospects of integration into the European Union catalyzed a more open debate on the make-up of the Turkish national identity⁴⁴ and the representativeness of its formative texts.⁴⁵

The broadening of geographical and thematic perspectives in the 1990s also witnessed the emergence of a number of scholarly projects, which sought to encapsulate the self-identification of cultures other than that of the country of origin of the editor. Attempts to map debates on identity often sought to transcend national frameworks, such as the collection of László Péter focusing on the Hungarian-Romanian historical polemic about Transylvania.⁴⁶ In other cases, the editors made an attempt to encapsulate in one volume of primary texts some key features of the debate on identity and modernity in a given national culture, often with the aim of trying to bring closer two traditions that were previously featured as antagonistic in relation to one another.⁴⁷ The 'archeological' search for precursors of the (re)emerging cultural-political camps also led to text collections focusing on ideological traditions, such as liberalism, with a special eye on their relationship with national identity.⁴⁸

As can be seen from these examples, the idea of compiling a collection of texts on national identity is far from new. What is, however, unprecedented is the temporal and territorial scope, the number of participants from different countries and the interpretative aspect of these volumes. While most of the previous 'Readers' sought to encapsulate one national canon, the present work breaks through the boundaries of a single national project and seeks to analyze and present the texts in dialogue with each other.

The temptation of 'national uniqueness' and making comparison possible

One important aspect that needs highlighting is that we did not intend to locate texts from every culture for every thematic and generic category in the 'Reader.' Rather, we sought to register the conspicuous absence of certain discursive traditions in the given cultures. Furthermore, we aimed at developing an interpretative framework that would be sensitive to the profound discontinuities and 'displacements' in these cultures, which means that certain discourses or genres were more important in some traditions than in others.

At this point, one cannot avoid the problem of similarities (or differences) in national developments within the region. Claims of national uniqueness were prevalent in every national culture. There are texts included in the 'Reader' that are usually portrayed by the locals as difficult for foreigners to understand or poems that "cannot be translated into English." By including them, the 'Reader' intentionally crossed the border of seemingly self-sufficient national cultures. As will be elaborated below, instead of national headings the texts were divided into typological groups (Enlightenment, Romanticism, Modernism), while their description, interpretation, as well as their very selection was the result of 'cross-cultural negotiation' between the members of the research group. This meant looking at the respective national canons through the ideological and cultural frames of other traditions. From this perspective, the 'Reader' aims at revisiting precisely these conceptions of national uniqueness by highlighting not only the situational, but also the discursive-structural similarities between the respective traditions. It is often claimed that the process of creating national identity or political culture in Central and Southeast Europe should be treated as exceptional. To quote one characteristic example: when discussing the problem of liberal traditions in nineteenth-century Poland, some participants denied the very existence of such a political phenomenon by implying the lack of institutional conditions comparable to 'classical' English liberalism.⁴⁹

In our opinion, trying to understand these cultures merely from the standpoint of their internal referential systems is a limited enterprise; while trying to explain them from an ideal-typical 'Western perspective' is an oversimplification. In order to find a middle way and to place these narratives of identity in a more encompassing Central and Southeast European setting, we located our research at the intersection of several scholarly contexts. Recently, one could witness a series of discussions on the construction of 'otherness within Europe'—both in terms of the mechanisms of symbolic exclusion employed by the center⁵⁰ and in terms of local instrumentalization of identity-building mechanisms aimed at devising local canons of self-representation. There are also valuable interpretations on the internalization of the 'external' that point out the complexities of the formation of cultural identity.⁵¹

The second scholarly context refers to various ways in which local identity-discourses were configured into canons of (modern) cultural and political legitimacy. In regard to South-East and Central Europe, this was often described in terms of the conflict between 'Westernizer' and 'Autochthonist' paradigms.⁵² This dichotomy, however, tends to arrange rather divergent in-

terpretations into monolithic counter-positions, operating according to the 'logic of asymmetric counter-concepts' (Reinhart Koselleck). The reading of East European cultures, in particular, as marked by a duality of polarized intellectual traditions, has been an established blueprint of local and external interpretations. But, when contextualized from a different perspective—stressing the structural similarities between these discourses and trying to locate them in their own intellectual horizons the relationship between the two positions does not appear to be so antagonistic. The emerging discourses of national identity had many faces—democratic and anti-democratic, liberal and anti-liberal, Westernizer and autochthonist.

There is a pressing need for an interpretative framework that abandons the usual (self-)descriptions of local elites in terms of an eternal fight between 'emulation of the European core' and its 'repudiation.' This is what brings to the forefront the question of the emergence of political modernity and its ambivalent interaction with local frameworks. A body of literature produced mainly in the 1970s that followed Immanuel Wallerstein's influential approach has sought to grasp the common patterns of belated modernization projects in the framework of the economic dependency of the periphery.⁵³ These studies were in many ways captured by the paradigm of 'backwardness,' studied according to a linear trajectory of modernization. Recently, these approaches have been in many ways supplemented by case studies that put more emphasis on the internal political and cultural dynamism of these countries, thus contextualizing the emergence of political modernity in East Europe in view of the intertwining of social and intellectual processes.⁵⁴

In order to place our findings in a comparative setting, special attention was paid to the new literature on the methodological debates of comparative history⁵⁵ as well as to the novel research into cultural transfers and entangled histories.⁵⁶ In this respect, we are aware that the choice of a comparative framework defines the terms of the debate.⁵⁷ We also made use of the literature on 'multiple modernities'⁵⁸ and the various collective ventures analyzing European cultural-political phenomena in a 'national context.'⁵⁹

On the whole, however, we tried to avoid overburdening the 'Reader,' which is ultimately meant for didactic use, with references to secondary literature. To help further orientation, a short bibliography is included as an appendix at the end of the fourth volume, as it was not possible to provide a full bibliography on the wide range of topics, particularly the historical regions and periods, encompassed by the 'Reader.' The same applies to the 'contextualization' of texts. While we obviously drew on the existing interpretative literature on the texts we included, to have provided detailed refer-

ences to the secondary literatures in more than a dozen of languages would have over-burdened the 'Reader' and the readers. Therefore, we tried to keep the references implicit, except for certain specific cases where the interpretation provided by a given historian was considered crucial for the 'itinerary' of the text—its re-discovery, canonization or its fundamental reconsideration for the 'national canon.'

To sum up, the main preoccupation of our venture was to avoid both the exclusive projection of the ideology of national uniqueness and the structuring of the European space in an East-West dichotomy. While taking into account unilinear as well as mutual transfers, we sought to abandon the 'Platonic' image dividing the continent in two ontologically incompatible worlds: the transcendent world of the Real—the Occident, and its ontologically inferior imitation—the Orient, the 'Remainder of Europe.' To complicate the issue further, it can be said that the very process of nation-building is a mirror-process that can be seen through the prism of the Girardian conception of 'mimetic desire.' This means that one can speak about West-West, West-East and East-East relations as proliferating chains rather than depicting them as two-layered hierarchies and mirror-worlds. In this way, we sought to avoid the simple border-tracing and leave aside the East/West opposition, which is constructed, of course, not on a geographical but on an ideological basis, and to a large extent reproduces the split from the time of the Cold War.

At the same time certain incompatibility between historical processes in the 'Eastern periphery' and the 'European core' does indeed exist. Just assuming it, however, does not imply that national developments in Central and Southeast Europe do not have their counterparts in the West, or the other way round. Similarly unsatisfactory is it to suggest that the nature of historical processes in Central and Southeast Europe is the same. Therefore, the 'Reader' does not aim to prove that structural similarities prevail over national differences but rather suggests a broadening of the scope of regional comparison.

The structure of the 'Reader'

Our work was aiming at the elaboration of regionally encompassing frameworks of interpretation based on a comparative approach. A look at the organizational principles of the selection of the texts will shed some light on this issue. The grouping of the texts followed neither national provenience, nor *stricto sensu* chronological order. It was determined more by thematic

similarities and resonances. These “meta-themes/periods” are the following: Late Enlightenment (the emergence of the modern ‘National Idea’), National Romanticism (the formation of national movements); Modernism (the full development of national movements and often the creation of national states); and ‘Anti-Modernism’ (which is in many ways intertwined with the ‘Modernist’ section, concentrating mainly on the radical ideologies of the inter-war period.)

Within these thematic units the project analyzes various aspects of identity-construction, such as ‘symbolic geography,’ the symbolic representation of the national community, images of the past and the production of cultural markers (i.e. national language or national character), as well as the images of the other and the production of identity in religious and nationalist contexts—domains that themselves exhibit revealing similarities, notably in the relationship between nationalism and state-making. This framework challenges the usual taxonomies, (in fact, most of the texts fall into more than one category), through the *dis-aggregation* of a nominally unified past. In particular, this perspective questions the idea of a single point of departure that we are confronted with in nationalist histories. In fact, most of the texts selected consciously participate in many registers of identity-construction, seeking to turn the entire symbolic framework of collective identities into a more dynamic vision. Questioning the fixed canons of national identity by historicizing their formation, the ‘Reader’ points out the symbolic ambiguities, negotiations and discursive plurality that characterize these cultures.

As far as the practical side of this approach is concerned, in an effort to create a common basis for the analysis of the collected texts a short questionnaire was devised, registering the basic information about each of the given texts. The questionnaire consists of five sections. The first section refers to the bibliographical data containing the language in which the text was written, its author and the publishing house; this data is complemented by short information about the author, such as his (her) place of birth and death and main works. The second section contains a short ‘contextualization’ of the text, describing its political and social background and the intellectual environment in which it originated. Then the textual analysis, and a description of its ideological tendencies and historical influence and its function in the respective canon follow. In addition, the most important interpretations of the text are provided. The third section groups the key terms of the text and gives a short explanation of their meaning and function, while the fourth aims at the potential grouping of the text (e.g., period, thematic unit). Finally, the fifth section is a resume of the text. Upon completion of the research work,

naturally, the last three categories fell out, as they contained information which were then incorporated into the very structure of the 'Reader' and the corresponding auxiliary materials.

While elaborating on our individual cases and also trying to compare the texts stemming from various cultural contexts to each other, we were faced with a number of methodological and technical dilemmas. First of all, we had to agree upon the relative proportions of various national selections, and also about the relative weight of a specific discursive tradition in view of the *longue durée* of the given national tradition. Obviously, some of the cultures in question produced more complex debates than others, some periods saw a proliferation of discourses in one culture, while others almost completely lacked any activity. It would have been meaningless to allocate the same amount of space to 'Macedonian Romanticism' as to Polish Romanticism, and Czech modernism was evidently more representative than Czech anti-modernism. On the whole, we decided to allocate more space to the Polish and Austrian cases, and to come up with a fair representation for all the others. We also created a flexible framework of internal proportions whereby we could indicate the relative weight of a given meta-discourse. Thus, for instance, we have only one Slovak 'Late Enlightenment' text in contrast to six Greek ones, but in the chapters on National Romanticism the proportions are more balanced. In order to offer a more comprehensive treatment of the given period in cases where we did not include too many samples, we decided to offer a broader historical contextualization (such as in the case of the Albanian files).

The 'Questionnaire' was also used in the process of selecting the texts, preparing the commentaries and creating a taxonomy of key concepts. While not aiming at creating any sort of Central and Southeast European *Begriffsgeschichte*, we considered the issue of conceptual transformation as one of the keys to the historical material analyzed in our project. As a result, in order to substantiate the theoretical assumptions of the 'Reader,' a multi-lingual glossary of key notions was also compiled (to be found as an appendix to Volume IV). The glossary is meant to identify the main discursive figures relating to collective identity and to register, on a comparative basis, the convergences and divergences between different national cultures.

From the very beginning, we were aware of the problematic nature of the meta-categories according to which we structured our research. While the sequence of the four categories made perfect sense in some cases, it was far from obvious in other cases. Our Turkish colleagues, for example, called our attention to the fact that the late-nineteenth century writer and politician

Namık Kemal fits discursively into all our categories at the same time—producing plays which bear the stamp of the Enlightenment, Romantic poems, modernist political articles and, finally, a diary that often reflected on the impossibility of the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. prefiguring the anti-modernist argumentation. In general, of course, we could not help projecting these overlapping temporalities and ‘asynchronic synchronicities’ on a temporal continuum, while at the same time remaining conscious of the constructed nature of the categories used in the ‘Reader.’ While we had to make practical decisions, we also sought to question traditional taxonomies. As a matter of fact, the very category of ‘Late Enlightenment’ served such a purpose, as very often the local interpretative traditions written from a retrospective point of view with the intention of ‘canonizing’ the national ideology fused the texts written in the late-eighteenth century with the 1830–1840s, presuming a kind of teleology in the formation of a modern national consciousness. By drawing attention to the Enlightenment intellectual influences and paradigms, we hope to question this vision of unproblematic evolution and to indicate the cleavages between ‘Enlightenment’ and ‘Romantic’ projects.

Sometimes we chose to indicate the ambiguity of some of the key authors by placing their works under different categories. For instance, in the case of Hristo Botev we placed his revolutionary poetry into the Romantic setting, but his more theoretical article explaining his views on Socialism into the modernist frame. Needless to say, we often came across cases where the same text could also be read from different perspectives and one could have placed it under different headings. In these cases, we had to make a decision, but we sought to indicate that there is a mixture of different ideological references. As a matter of fact, it turned out that the overlapping of categories is rather rule than exception—most of the texts we came across are transitional, formatted by different, often contradictory discursive traditions.

We also had to agree about the relationship between the canonical and non-canonical texts to be included in the ‘Reader.’ Our aim was to open the ‘Reader’ to alternative debates about national canons, without disregarding the mainstream discourses of identity. Obviously, we did not want to reproduce just the institutionalized self-image of these national cultures, which would have meant an almost total preponderance of ‘National Romanticism’ in most of the cases. We agreed that approximately two-thirds of the texts selected would represent the mainstream, which would be commonly the core of the educational curriculum, forming part of the pool of references even of an averagely educated person in the given national context. The rest

of the selected files include those texts which are rather ambiguous in this respect: either forming part of traditions which became marginalized in the process of canon-building, or eccentric but nevertheless telling perspectives on central issues of the self-narration of a given culture. Along these lines, we sought to include some representative texts from regional intellectual canons that were related to nation-building projects but not necessarily completely overlapping with them, such as the Dalmatian, Transylvanian or Moravian ones. Although we could not aim at an exhaustive treatment of all these regional variants, we were trying to indicate that the actual nation-state framework is far from being the only imaginable setting to represent the plurality of collective identities.

While we were coming up with our own lists of texts at the beginning of the project, the process of negotiation meant that the final set of authors was significantly divergent from our original offers. While subsuming the texts from different backgrounds under thematic headings, we paid special attention to the cultural dialogue between certain texts. In many cases, by comparing texts to each other we became aware how a given text had been omitted from the respective national tradition. By identifying and excavating those themes and discourses that existed in the national traditions but were retrospectively marginalized, we sought to contribute to the rethinking of the entire tradition. A sense of divergence between different canons was, however, preserved and we emphatically resisted the temptation of 'generating' counterparts for certain discursive genres from all traditions we were working with, as we thought that this would have led to an artificial fusion of texts with very different relative weight. The effort of keeping a certain level of representativeness prompted us to select published texts rather than private correspondence, although in some cases we included also sources of a more private nature. While identifying our primary excerpts, we sought to bring together texts that have not been translated into English before, although with certain key texts we made an exception to this rule.

In general, our aim was to incorporate as many national narratives as possible rather than creating one homogenized supra-national narrative. We sought to retain this plurality in the use of geographical and personal names as well.⁶⁰ In the case of some files some members of the group worked together, since the themes included there overlapped in different traditions (e.g. Greek scholars active in the Danubian Principalities). The most interesting cases were the ones where the overlapping national narratives created two almost incompatible visions. The most striking instance is probably that of the Albanian Sami Fräsheri or the Ottoman Şemseddin Sami, where it re-

quired considerable alertness to realize that the two biographies refer to one and the same person. In this case we sought to draw up a 'negotiated' biography and created an opportunity for the Albanian and Turkish contributors of the project to compare their narratives and create a mutually acceptable version.⁶¹ On the other hand, in cases of conflicting narrative traditions we sought to retain a certain level of incompatibility. Rather than creating a politically correct image of peoples loving each other but just being manipulated by corrupt politicians, we did not want to hide the fact that some of the national canons in the region were indeed turned against each other and had often devised their own identity-discourse in mimetic competition with their neighbors. What we nevertheless sought to attain with our contextual introductions and with the very selection of the samples was a re-evaluation of these identity-constructions—showing that what became the eventual mainstream was actually part of a horizontal dialogue of alternative conceptions, and often the national framework itself that eventually became the organizing principle of the discussion was just one of the discursive options. The same agenda of contextualization was crucial not only as a tool to problematize the national framework but also to question the essentialist narratives that turn concepts such as the Enlightenment or 'national revival' into historical agents rather than interpretative models.

Facing such dilemmas concerning the selection of excerpts and the elaboration of interpretation, we sought a balance between the different possible strategies. We distanced ourselves from the self-reproducing national canons, but we also tried to signal that the national framework was indeed crucial in the history of self-understanding in the region. We hoped to coin supra-national references to locate our texts, but we resisted the temptation of creating a 'Grand Narrative' of how things happened in the region, and rejected the possibility of just 'discovering' one fitting text, no matter how relevant or irrelevant, from every country under every category. As reflected in the 'Reader,' our methodological 'middle ground' is not the outcome of hesitation or indecision, but an attempt at an appropriate representation of the different temporalities of the intellectual traditions and national cultures in the region. By engaging each of the participants in a long-term process of exploring the dialectic between 'our own' culture and that of the 'others,' we sought to challenge the reductionist claims usually heard when talking about Central and Southeast Europe: namely, that all these cultures were either completely alike, simple variations on the same theme of peripheral nation-building, or completely untranslatable into each other's terms, featuring a veritable Babylon of incompatible and mutually antagonistic narratives of identity.

Needless to say, the 'Reader' is in many ways a work in progress. It is a document of a process of cultural negotiation, which is not something to be just accomplished and forgotten but a life-experience and a fundamental existential challenge to all of its participants. The editors very much hope that, beyond the textual selections and contextualizations, those who use the 'Reader' will take a glimpse at the 'invisible' side of this project as well: the never-ending debate and a permanent play, not only with our national traditions, but also with our own personal identity.

Notes

- 1 The most recent example is the volume edited by Richard Frucht, *Encyclopedia of Eastern Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the fall of communism* (New York and London, 2000).
- 2 See especially the books produced for the 'Western' public, such as Philip Longworth, *The making of Eastern Europe: From prehistory to postcommunism* (London, 1992); Joseph Rotschild, *Return to diversity: A political history of East Central Europe since World War II* (Oxford, 1993); Zbynek A. Zeman, *Making and breaking of communist Europe* (Oxford, 1991).
- 3 This could be merely ideological, but often expressed a genuine interest in transgressing the nationalist framework of pre-1945 historiography. See, for example, the Hungarian series on Hungarian-Slovak and Hungarian-Romanian 'common pasts': István Borsody, *Magyar-szlovák kiegyezés* [The Hungarian-Slovak compromise] (Budapest, 1945); László Makkai, ed., *Magyar-román közös múlt* [The Hungarian-Romanian common past] (Budapest, 1948). In the 1950–60s, however, no matter how benevolent these ventures might have been, they were heavily influenced by official ideology, contrasting the instinctive 'internationalist' inclination of the 'working people' with the nationalism of the elites, thus making them blind to the complexity of intellectual traditions in the region. A peculiar branch of this literature was the one focusing on the often highly virtual "historical friendship" with Russia and the Soviet Union. See, for example, Ludwik Bazyłow, ed., *Z dziejów współpracy rewolucyjnej Polaków i Rosjan w drugiej połowie XIX wieku* [On the history of the revolutionary cooperation of Poles and Russians in the second half of the 19th century] (Wrocław, 1956); Jiří Sedláček and Josef Vávra, ed., *Za zemi milovanou. Z bojů o československo-sovětské přátelství* [For the beloved country. Struggles for the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship] (Prague, 1960); Zdeněk Konečný, ed., *Revoluční hnutí v Československu a jeho vztahy k SSSR: Morava a Slezsko – dokumenty 1879–1938* [The revolutionary movement in Czechoslovakia and its links with the USSR: Moravia and Silesia – documents 1879–1938] (Prague, 1960).
- 4 At the same time, the well-established 'imperial' (Habsburg and Ottoman) studies continued to have an impact, but they were mostly cultivated by scholars stemming from the imperial centers or by 'Western' scholars. Some of the paradigms developed by these historians (embodied in a veritable cult of the *fin-de-siècle* in Central Europe, initiated by Carl E. Schorske) reached East-Central Europe al-

ready in the 1980s, serving as a new symbolic geographical offer challenging the East-West divide.

- 5 Cf. Katherine Verdery, *National ideology under socialism. Identity and cultural politics in Ceausescu's Romania* (Berkeley, 1991).
- 6 Among the most visible examples are the works on the Hungarian-Romanian “entangled history.” See, for instance, Béla Borsi-Kálmán, *Liaisons risquées: Hongrois et Roumains aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Pécs, 1999); and his *Nemzetfogalom és nemzetstratégiák: A Kossuth-emigráció és a román nemzeti törekvések kapcsolatának történetéhez* [The concept of the nation and national strategies: On the history of the interaction of the Kossuth-emigration and Romanian national movement] (Budapest, 1993); Ambrus Miskolczy, *Eszmék és téveszmék: Kritikai esszék a román múlt és jelen vitás kérdéseit tárgyaló könyvekről* [Ideas and misconceptions: Critical essays on books dealing with debated issues of the Romanian past and present] (Budapest, 1994); Balázs Trencsényi, Dragoș Petrescu, Cristina Petrescu, Constantin Iordachi and Zoltán Kántor, eds. *Nation-building and contested identities: Romanian and Hungarian case studies* (Budapest and Iași, 2001); Toader Nicoară, *Transilvania la începuturile timpurilor moderne (1680–1800): Societate rurală și mentalități colective* [Transylvania at the beginning of modern times, 1680–1800: Rural society and collective mentalities] (Cluj, 1997); Melinda Mitu, *Problema românească reflectată în cultura maghiară din prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea* [The Romanian problem reflected by Hungarian culture in the first half of the 19th century] (Cluj, 2000). Particularly productive, too, has been the Czech-German partnership in historiography, which, however, concentrated almost exclusively on the history of Bohemian lands. See e.g. the production of the Czech-German Commission of Historians at <http://www.dt-ds-historikerkommission.de/>.
- 7 For attempts at dis-centering the homogenizing national narrative in the research on Turkish and Greek national identity see Richard Clogg, ed., *Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a plural society* (London, 2002), Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve ‘Türkleştirme’ Politikaları* [The Assets Tax and policies of ‘Turkification’] (Istanbul, 2000) on the discriminatory taxation on the non-Muslim minorities during the Second World War, and Baskın Oran, *Kürüselleşme ve Azınlıklar* [Globalization and minorities] (Istanbul, 2004). On the images of the Greek and Turkish ‘Others’ in both literary traditions see the studies by Herkül Millas, *Türk Romanı ve ‘Öteki’ – Ulusal Kimlikte Yunan imajı* [The Turkish novel and the ‘Other’ – The image of the Greek in national identity] (Istanbul, 2000), and Εικόνες Ελλήνων – Τούρκων-σχολικά βιβλία, ιστοριογραφία, λογοτεχνία και εθνικά στερεότυπα [Images of Greeks and Turks – school textbooks, historiography, literature and national stereotypes] (Athens, 2001). The experience of the exchange of populations in 1922–23 has also become the focus of academic projects, such as Renée Hirschon, ed., *Crossing the Aegean: An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey* (New York, 2003); and Giorgos Tzedopoulos, *Πέρα από την Καταστροφή: Μικρασιάτες πρόσφυγες στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου* [Beyond the Catastrophe: Asia Minor refugees in Greece during the inter-war period] (Athens, 2003). Despite the fact that the French-German model has been frequently evoked as an example for Greek-Turkish reconciliation, the few concrete examples of this approach have been Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragnas, eds., *Citizenship and the nation-state in Greece and Turkey* (London and New York, 2005) and a special issue of *Cahiers Balkaniques* n° 33: “Turquie, Grèce: un passé commun, des nouvelles perspectives,” edited by Faruk Bilici (Paris, 2005).

- 8 This is the case with even such 'non-partisan' ventures as Chantal Delsol and Michel Maslowski, eds. *Histoire des idées politiques de l'Europe centrale* (Paris, 1998).
- 9 Financial, linguistic and spatial limitations made it impossible for us to include Ukraine and the Baltic states, marked by political traditions that reveal many similarities with the national traditions presented in the 'Reader.' Also, it was due to organizational reasons rather than any underlying ideological agenda that we had to accept the loss of Slovenia from our territorial grasp in the first two volumes even though a number of Slovenian intellectuals, such as Jernej Kopitar, played an important role in mediating among various emerging 'national cultures' in the region. After contacting several colleagues, we simply failed to find any Slovenian scholar who was willing to submit the required excerpts.
- 10 See esp. Quentin Skinner, *Foundations of modern political thought* (Cambridge, 1979); James Tully, ed., *Meaning and context: Quentin Skinner and his critics* (Cambridge, 1988); Anthony Pagden, ed., *The languages of political theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1987); J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, language and time: Essays on political thought and history* (London, 1972); and his *Virtue, commerce and history: Essays on political thought and history, chiefly in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985); Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck, eds., *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur Politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, 8 vols (Stuttgart, 1972–1992), Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt a. M., 1979); Roger Chartier, *Les origines culturelles de la Révolution Française* (Paris, 1991); Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo, eds., *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental* (Paris, 1997).
- 11 Melvin Richter, *The history of political and social concepts* (Oxford, 1995); Iain Hampsher-Monk, Karin Tilman and Fred Van Vree, eds., *History of concepts: Comparative perspectives* (Amsterdam, 1998).
- 12 For theoretical reflection and general methodological problems of the Western intellectual history research in the last decades, see Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan, eds., *Modern European intellectual history: Reappraisals and new perspectives* (Ithaca and London, 1982); Hans E. Bödeker, ed., *Begriffsgeschichte, Diskursgeschichte, Metapherngeschichte* (Göttingen, 2002); Hellmuth Eckhart and Christoph von Ehrenstein, "Intellectual History Made in Britain: Die Cambridge School und ihre Kritiker," in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 2001/I, pp. 149–72.
- 13 On political modernity, see Claude Lefort, *L'invention démocratique* (Paris, 1981); Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, *La fiction du politique* (Paris, 1987) and also his *L'imitation des modernes* (Paris, 1986). For a recent critical reinvestigation of the notion of modernity, see Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer* (Torino, 1995), and Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge and Oxford, 2001).
- 14 See the general though sometimes one-sided critique by Lutz Niethammer and Axel Doßmann, *Kollektive Identität. Heimliche Quellen einer unheimlichen Konjunktur* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2000), esp. pp. 9–66; but also Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman, eds., *Modernity and identity* (Oxford, 1992); Ernesto Laclau, ed., *The making of political identities* (London, 1994); and Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and self-identity* (Stanford, 1991). For the concept of narrative identity see Paul Ricoeur, *Soi-même comme un autre* (Paris, 1990).
- 15 See Reinhart Koselleck, "Social History and Begriffsgeschichte," in Hampsher-Monk et al., *History of Concepts*, pp. 23–35.

- 16 On the social aspects of temporality, see Krzysztof Pomian, *L'Ordre du temps* (Paris, 1984); Paul Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1983–1985); Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the truth about history* (New York, 1994); Reinhart Koselleck, *Zeitschichten: Studien zur Historik* (Frankfurt a. M., 2000). For an anthropological perception of historical time, see Marshal Sahlins, *Islands of history* (Chicago, 1987).
- 17 For a thorough elaboration on identity building and discursive practices, see the first part of Ruth Wodak et al., *Zur diskursiven Konstruktion nationaler Identität* (Frankfurt a. M., 1998). A theoretical reflection on discursive practices from a comparative perspective based on historical material is contained in Miroslav Hroch, *In the national interest* (Prague, 2000).
- 18 Needless to say, our conception of nation is inspired by authors who describe the nation as an “imagined community” (Benedict Anderson) or a “system of cultural representations” (Stuart Hall). This understanding of the notion emphasizes its dynamic character revealed as the “permanent positioning” of symbolic meanings.
- 19 On the problems of canon and canonicity, see Jan Gorak, *The making of the modern canon. Genesis and crisis of a literary idea* (Athlone, N.Y. & Amsterdam, 1991); John Guillory, *Cultural capital: The problem of literary canon formation* (Chicago, 1993); Harold Bloom, *The Western canon. The books and school of the ages* (New York, 1994).
- 20 See Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking intellectual history: Texts, contexts, language* (Ithaca, NY, 1983); idem, *History and criticism* (Ithaca, NY, 1985); Hayden White, *Tropics of discourse: Essays in cultural criticism* (Baltimore-London, 1992).
- 21 Karel Doskočil, ed., *Listy a listiny z dějin československých (869–1938)* [Documents and records from Czechoslovak history, 869–1938] (Prague, 1938); Viktor Novak, ed. *Antologija jugoslavenske misli i narodnog jedinstva (1390–1930)* [The Anthology of the Yugoslav thought and national unity, 1390–1930] (Belgrade, 1930); Slavko Ježić, ed., *Ilirska antologija: književni dokumenti hrvatskog preporoda* [The Illyrian anthology: Literary documents of the Croatian Revival] (Zagreb, 1934).
- 22 In these cases the underlying political agenda could be very divergent. While the volume edited by József Halasy-Nagy, *Magyar önismeret* [Hungarian self-knowledge] (Budapest, 1939) was a reflection of the official nationalist ideology; Tibor Joó's *Vallomások a magyarságról: A magyar önismeret breviáriuma* [Confessions on Hungarianness: The breviary of Hungarian self-knowledge] (Budapest, 1943), tried to prove that there was a specific Hungarian nationalism based on multi-ethnic cooperation, in contrast to Western nation-state building and totalitarian ethno-politics—thus turning the autochthonist rhetoric in an anti-Fascist direction.
- 23 Stanislaus Hafner, Otto Turecek and Günther Wytrzens, eds., *Slavische Geisteswelt*, vol. 2, *West- und Südslaven: Staatlichkeit und Volkstum* (Baden-Baden, 1959).
- 24 The classic of the genre, falling out of the geographical scope of our project, is undoubtedly Marc Raeff, ed., *Russian intellectual history: An anthology* (New York, 1966).
- 25 See, for example, Krystyna Olszer, ed., *For your freedom and ours: Polish progressive spirit from the 14th century to the present* (New York, 1981), which was a re-edition and partial extension of a propagandistic collection of texts published

- during the Second World War; and Adam Bromke, ed., *The meaning and uses of Polish history* (Boulder, 1987), who envisioned a *longue durée* thread of intellectual continuity between the nineteenth century and *Solidarność*. See also Mieczysław B. Biskupski and James S. Pula, *Polish democratic thought from the Renaissance to the Great Emigration* (Boulder, 1990).
- 26 Václav Husa and František Kutnar, eds., *Naše národní minulost v dokumentech* [Our national past in documents] (Prague, 1954); Ilija Mamuzić, ed., *Antologija ilirskog pokreta* [The anthology of the Illyrian Movement] (Belgrade, 1953); Ján Tibenský, ed., *Chvály a obrany národa slovenského* [Praises and apologies of the Slovak Nation] (Bratislava, 1965); Ján V. Ormis, ed., *O reč a národ: Slovenské národné obrany z rokov 1832–1848* [For language and nation: Slovak national defenses from 1832–1848] (Bratislava, 1975); Manfred Kriedl and Władysław R. Malinowski, eds., *Polska myśl demokratyczna w ciągu wieków: Antologia* [Polish democratic thought through the ages: An anthology] (Warsaw, 1983).
 - 27 The most well-known being Apostolos Daskalakis, *Κείμενα-πηγαί της ιστορίας της ελληνικής επανάστασεως* [Source-texts of the history of the Greek Revolution] (Athens, 1966), and Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos, *Πηγές της ιστορίας του νέου Ελληνισμού* [Sources of the history of the New Hellenism] (Thessaloniki, 1966). The second one especially seeks to provide a panorama of the cultural and political continuity of the Greek nation after the fall of Constantinople and until the 19th century.
 - 28 Éva Ring, ed., *Helyünk Európában* [Our place in Europe] (Budapest, 1986).
 - 29 Hartmut and Silke Lehmann, eds., *Das Nationalitätenproblem in Österreich, 1848–1918* (Göttingen, 1973).
 - 30 See, for instance, Sándor Lukácsy, ed., *Nemzeti olvasókönyv* [National reader] (Budapest, 1988).
 - 31 See the official post-1968 Czechoslovak publication *Minulost našeho státu v dokumentech* [The past of our state in documents] (Prague, 1971).
 - 32 For instance, Konstantinos Dimaras, *Διμήτριος Καταρτζής. Ευρισκόμενα* [Dimitrios Katartzis' extant works] (Athens, 1970); Rena Stavridon-Patrikion, *Δημοτικισμός και κοινωνικό πρόβλημα* [Demoticism and the social question] (Athens, 1976); Panayotis Noutsos, *Η σοσιαλιστική σκέψη στην Ελλάδα* [Socialist thought in Greece] 2 vols (Athens, 1993). Special reference should be made to Richard Clogg, ed., *The movement for Greek independence 1770–1821: A collection of documents* (London: 1976). This was the first important collection of Greek identity-building texts translated into English.
 - 33 The more important being Dimitris Tsoulos, *Ελληνισμός–ελληνικότητα: ιδεολογικοί και βιωματικοί άζονες της νεοελληνικής κοινωνίας* [Hellenism-Hellenicity: ideological and practical aspects of neo-Hellenic society] (Athens, 1983); Nasou Vagena, Taki Kagiali, Mihali Pieri, *Μοντερνισμός και Ελληνικότητα* [Modernism and Hellenicity] (Iraklion, 1997).
 - 34 Iordan Chimet, ed., *Dreptul la memorie*, 4 vols. [The right to memory] (Cluj-Napoca, 1993).
 - 35 See, e.g., Zdeněk Veselý ed., *Dějiny českého státu v dokumentech* [The history of the Czech state in documents] (Prague, 1994); Dušan Čaplovič et al., eds. *Dokumenty slovenskej národnej identity a štátnosti* [Documents of Slovak national identity and statehood] (Bratislava, 1998).
 - 36 Ivan Martinčić, ed., *Hrvatski preporod: Temeljni programski tekstovi* [The Croatian Revival: Basic programmatic texts] 2 vols (Zagreb, 1994); Miroslav Šicel, ed., *Programski tekstovi hrvatskog narodnog preporoda* [Programmatic texts of the Cro-

tian National Revival] (Zagreb, 1997). For a collection of formative texts of Illyrianism in German, see Anna Pia Maisen, ed., *Wie ein Blitz schlägt es aus meinem Mund: Der Illyrismus, die Hauptschriften der kroatischen Nationalbewegung 1830–1844* (Bern, 1998). For the Serbian side, the new history of statehood contained a number of textual excerpts: Radoš Ljušić, Dejan Medaković, Ljubodrag Dimić et al., *Istorija srpske državnosti*, 3 vols (Novi Sad, 2001). The volume edited by Bojan Jovanović, *Karakterologija Srba* [Serbian characterology] (Beograd, 1992), provides an example of the revival of an entire scholarly tradition of national self-description: i.e. the interwar canon of ‘national characterology.’ Probably the most spectacular venture was the two-volume (1500 pages) collection of texts published at the peak of nationalist hysteria at the beginning of the Yugoslav conflict. It contains the most important ‘canonical’ texts, especially from the interwar period, followed by treatises of the most outspoken nationalists of the 1980s and 1990s. The latter brought together geopolitical, historical and ‘nation-building’ texts, one next to another from different periods, without any explanation or critical reference and with an ‘ahistorical’ ambition of celebrating the eternal Serbian nation and laying a curse on all its enemies. See Predrag Dragić-Kijuk, *Catena mundi*, 2 vols (Kraljevo, 1992). The editors would like to thank Teodora Shek Brnardić and Bojan Aleksov for their generous help and extensive comments on the Croatian and Serbian references in the present introduction.

- 37 Rudolf Chmel, ed., *Slovenská otázka v 20. storočí* [The Slovak question in the 20th century] (Bratislava, 1996), published also in Hungarian under the title *A szlovákkérdés a XX. században* (Bratislava, 1996).
- 38 Ivan Elenkov and Roumen Daskalov, eds., *Защо сме такива? В търсене на българската културна идентичност* [Why are we like that? In search of Bulgarian cultural identity] (Sofia, 1994).
- 39 Miloš Havelka, ed., *Spor o smysl českých dějin* [Debate on the meaning of Czech history] (Prague, 1995), see also his interpretation, *Dějiny a smysl* [History and meaning] (Prague, 2001).
- 40 Miroslav Jovanović, ed., *Protiv Vuka: Hrestomatija* [Against Vuk: A chrestomathy] (Belgrade, 2004), and his interpretative monograph, *Jezik i društvena istorija: Društvenohistorijski okviri polemike o srpskom književnom jeziku* [Language and social history: The social-historical context of the debate on the Serbian literary language] (Belgrade, 2002).
- 41 Ralph Lindheim and George S. N. Luckyj, eds. *Towards an intellectual history of Ukraine: An anthology of Ukrainian thought from 1710 to 1945* (Toronto, 1996). The publication of this volume, making a huge number of key texts available in English, made our eventual choice of leaving Ukraine out from the project considerably less problematic.
- 42 See Harald Heppner and Olga Katsiardi-Hering, eds., *Die Griechen und Europa: Aussen- und Innensichten im Wandel der Zeit* (Vienna, 1998). A similar concern has only recently started developing in Turkey; see, for instance, Çağlar Keyder, *Memalik-i Osmaniye'den Avrupa Birliği'ne* [From the Ottoman domains to the European Union] (Istanbul, 2003).
- 43 Two typical examples are Johannes Magendorf, *Βαλκάνια και Ορθοδοξία* [Balkans and Orthodoxy] (Athens, 1993) and Christos Giannaras, *Το αλφαβητάρι του Έλληνα* [The alphabet of the Hellenes] (Athens, 2002). By contrast, Paschalis Kitromilidis and Thanos Veremis, eds., *The Orthodox Church in a changing world* (Athens, 1998) addresses more critically the whole issue.

- 44 See, for instance, Stefanos Yerasimos et al., *Türkiye’de sivil toplum ve milliyetçilik* [Civil society and nationalism in Turkey] (Istanbul, 2001); Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman past and today’s Turkey* (Leiden, 2000).
- 45 In this respect, the first publication that includes and critically addresses a comprehensive body of formative texts on Turkish national identity is Murat Belge (series editor), *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce* [Political thought in modern Turkey], 9 vols (Istanbul, 2001–2004).
- 46 Laszlo Peter, ed., *Historians and the History of Transylvania* (Boulder, 1992); in a similar vein, see Robert Elsie, ed., *Kosovo: In the heart of the powder keg* (Boulder, 1997).
- 47 Imre Pászka, ed., *Román eszmetörténet, 1866–1945: Önismeret és modernizáció a román gondolkodásban* [Romanian intellectual history, 1866–1945: Self-knowledge and modernization in Romanian thought] (Budapest, 1994); Marek Klecel, ed., *Polen zwischen Ost und West: Polnische Essays des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1997), published as part of the *Dedecius Polnische Bibliothek* Series.
- 48 See the attempt to represent the indigenous Czech liberal political tradition in a reader edited by Milan Znoj, Jan Havránek and Martin Sekera, *Český liberalismus: Texty a osobnosti* [Czech liberalism: Texts and personalities] (Prague, 1995); and for the Polish liberal tradition, Wojciech Bernacki, ed., *Liberalizm polski: Antologia* [Polish liberalism: An anthology] (Rzeszów, 2003); for the Serbian one, Jovica Trkulja and Dragoljub Popović, eds., *Liberalna misao u Srbiji – Prilozi istoriji liberalizma od kraja 18. do sredine 20. veka* [Liberal thought in Serbia – Contributions to the history of liberalism from the end of the 18th to the mid-20th century] (Belgrade, 2001); for the Croatian tradition, Andrea Feldman, Vladimir Stipetić and Franjo Zenko, eds., *Liberalna misao u Hrvatskoj: Prilozi povijesti liberalizma od kraja 18. do sredine 20. stoljeća* (Liberal thought in Croatia: Contributions to the history of liberalism from the end of the 18th to the mid-20th century) (Zagreb, 2000), and Tihomir Cipek and Josip Vrandečić, eds., *Hrestomatija liberalnih ideja u Hrvatskoj* (Chrestomathia of liberal ideas in Croatia) (Zagreb, 2004); as well as the otherwise very problematic Hungarian volume edited by László Tőkész, *Magyar liberalizmus* [Hungarian liberalism] (Budapest, 1993). For a similar venture focusing on Romanian conservatism, see Ioan Stanomir and Laurențiu Vlad, eds., *A fi conservator* [To be conservative] (Bucharest, 2002).
- 49 See the article by Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski—a young historian and editor of the rightist magazine *Frona*—criticizing the book by Maciej Janowski on Polish liberalism in the nineteenth century. While Janowski put Polish liberalism into the Central European context, Bończa-Tomaszewski, using the definitions of Western liberalism, claimed that none of the Polish political thinkers fulfilled the conditions of being liberal. See Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski, “Narodziny polskiego liberalizmu. Analiza metod wyjaśniania historiografii polskiego liberalizmu,” [The birth of Polish liberalism. Analysis of the explanations of liberalism in Polish historiography], in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (February 2001), pp. 83–99; and Maciej Janowski, “O historię liberalizmu polskiego w XIX wieku (w odpowiedzi na artykuł Nikodema Bończy-Tomaszewskiego),” [On the history of Polish liberalism in the nineteenth century – answer to the article by N. Bończa-Tomaszewski], in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (February 2002), pp. 101–118.
- 50 Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994); Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, 1997).

- 51 Sorin Mitu, *National identity of Romanians in Transylvania* (Budapest, 2001); Victor Neumann, *The temptation of Homo Europaeus* (New York, 1993); Brian Porter, *When nationalism began to hate: Imagining modern politics in nineteenth-century Poland* (Oxford, 2000); Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated modernity and aesthetic culture: Inventing national literature* (Minneapolis, 1991); Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream nation: Enlightenment, colonization, and the institution of modern Greece* (Stanford, 1996).
- 52 See, most importantly, Andrej Walicki, *The Slavophile controversy: History of the conservative utopia in nineteenth-century Russian thought* (Notre Dame, 1989); *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The case of Poland* (Notre Dame, 1982); Katherine Verdery and Ivo Banac, eds., *National character and national ideology in interwar Eastern Europe* (New Haven, 1995); Sorin Antohi, *Civitas imaginalis: Istorie și utopie în cultura română* (Bucharest, 1994), also the French version, *Imaginaire culturel et réalité politique dans la Roumanie moderne: le stigmat et l'utopie* (Paris, 1999); Alexandru Duțu, *Ideea de Europa și evoluția conștiinței europene* [The idea of Europe and the evolution of European consciousness] (Bucharest, 1999); Vladimír Macura, *Znamení zrodu: České obrození jako kulturní typ* [Birthmark: The Czech revival as cultural type] (Prague, 1995); idem, *Český sen* [Czech dream] (Prague, 1998); Robert B. Pynsent, *Questions of identity: Czech and Slovak ideas of nationality and personality* (Budapest, 1994); Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment as social criticism: Iosipos Moisioudax and Greek culture in the eighteenth century* (Princeton, 1992); John S. Koliopoulos and Thanos Veremis, *Greece: the modern sequel. From 1831 to the present* (London, 2002); Şerif Mardin, *Religion, society and modernity in Turkey* (Syracuse, 2003); Selim Deringil, *Well-protected domains: Ideology and the legitimisation of power in the Ottoman Empire – 1876–1909* (London, 1998).
- 53 Kenneth Jowitt, ed., *Social change in Romania 1860–1940: A debate on development in a European nation* (Berkeley, 1978); Andrew C. Janos, *The politics of backwardness in Hungary, 1825–1945* (Princeton, 1982); Iván T. Berend, *The crisis zone of Europe: An interpretation of East-Central European history in the first half of the twentieth century* (Cambridge, 1986); Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Modern Greece: Facets of underdevelopment* (New York, 1978); Kostas Vergopoulos, *Le capitalisme difforme et la nouvelle question agraire: l'exemple de la Grèce moderne* (Paris, 1977); Huri İslamoğlu-Inan, *The Ottoman Empire and the world-economy* (Cambridge and Paris, 1987); Çağlar Keyder, *State and class in Turkey: A study in capitalist development* (London, 1987).
- 54 Jerzy Jedlicki, *A suburb of Europe: Nineteenth-century Polish approaches to Western civilization* (Budapest, 1999); Andrzej Walicki, *Russia, Poland and universal regeneration: Studies in Russian and Polish thought of the Romantic epoch* (Notre Dame, 1991); Jiří Kořalka, *Tschechen im Habsburgerreich und in Europa 1815–1914: Sozialgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge der neuzeitlichen Nationsbildung und der Nationalitätenfrage in den böhmischen Ländern* (Vienna, 1991); Catherine Durandin, *Révolution à la française ou à la russe: Polonais, Roumains et Russes au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1989); Diana Mishkova, *Приспособяване на свободата: Модерност—лежитимност в Сърбия и Румъния през XIX век* [Domestication of liberty: Modernity and legitimacy in Serbia and Romania in the 19th century] (Sofia, 2001); Latinka Perović et al., *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. i 20. veka* (Serbia in the modernization processes of the 19–20th centuries), 3 vols (Belgrade, 1994–2003).

- 55 See, most recently, Christoph Conrad and Sebastian Conrad, eds., *Die Nation schreiben: Geschichtswissenschaft im internationalen Vergleich* (Berlin, 2002).
- 56 Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, eds., *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIe–XIXe siècle)* (Paris, 1988); Michel Espagne and Matthias Middell, eds., *Von der Elbe bis an die Seine: Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1993); Etienne François, Hannes Siegrist and Jakob Vogel, eds., *Nation und Emotion: Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1995); Shmuel Eisenstadt, Wolfgang Schluchter and Björn Wittrock, eds., *Collective identities and public spheres* (New Brunswick, 2000); Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Ronald Robertson, eds., *Global modernities* (London, 1995). The most recent attempt, from the perspective of comparative literature, to construct a synthetic picture of East-Central European cultures with respect to the interferences and 'overlapping pasts' is Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer, eds., *History of the literary cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and disjunctures in the 19th and 20th centuries* (Amsterdam, 2004).
- 57 Social, political and economic phenomena in Greece and Turkey, for instance, have been studied as parallel to similar developments in South Europe and the Mediterranean or the Middle East rather than Central Europe and the Balkans; see Giovanni Arrighi, Çağlar Keyder and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds., *Southern Europe in the world-economy in the twentieth century: Political and social transformations* (Binghamton, 1983); Jacques Revel and Giovanni Levi, eds., *Political uses of the past: The recent Mediterranean experience* (London, 2001); Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, eds., *Modernity and culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York, 2002). Interesting exceptions here are Richard Clogg, ed., *Balkan society in the age of Greek independence* (Totowa, N.J., 1981), and Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Politics in the semi-periphery: Early parliamentarism and late industrialization in the Balkans and Latin America* (New York, 1986). It is only in the 1990s, for obvious reasons, that a new comparative framework has been established, see: Th. D. Sfikas and Ch. Williams, eds., *Ethnicity and nationalism in East Central Europe and the Balkans* (Aldershot, 1999); Carl Brown, ed., *Imperial legacy: The Ottoman imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East* (New York, 1996); Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqui, eds., *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A discussion of historiography* (Leiden, 2002); Gerasimos Augustinos, ed., *Diverse paths to modernity in Southeastern Europe: Essays in national development* (New York, 1991); idem, *The national idea in Eastern Europe: The politics of ethnic and civic community* (Lexington, 1996); Dimitris Tziouvas, *Greece and the Balkans. Identities, perceptions and cultural encounters since the Enlightenment* (Aldershot, 2003).
- 58 "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus*, Winter 2000.
- 59 Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *Romanticism in national context* (Cambridge, 1988); Peter F. Sugar, ed., *Eastern European nationalism in the twentieth century* (Washington, 1995); Claus Björn, Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, *Nations, nationalism and patriotism in the European past* (Copenhagen, 1994); Dennis Delant and Harry Hanak, eds., *Historians as nation-builders: Central and South-East Europe* (Basingstoke, 1988).
- 60 By asserting the multiplicity of terminology we were able to emphasize the plurality of historical perspectives and rival national projects that sought to homogenize retrospectively the given territory or historical figure. Thus, in the first reference to a place we enumerate all its names in the relevant languages. For a small num-

ber of major cities (Vienna, Warsaw, Bucharest, etc.) the internationally recognized name was kept. However, in the case of cities where this name was simply internalizing the name of the 'winners,' or there was a specific historical-contextual reason, the name of the time of the text was retained, i.e. a Hungarian born in 1887 in Transylvania was born in Kolozsvár (*Rom.* Cluj, *Ger.* Klausenburg; present-day Romania).

- 61 See Bülent Bilmez, "Mythologization of an Ottoman intellectual in the modern Turkish and Socialist Albanian historiographies based on 'selective perception': Sami Frashëri or Şemseddin Sami Bey?" in *Balkanologie* vol. VII, no 2 (December 2003), pp. 19–46.

INTRODUCTION

László Kontler: The Enlightenment in Central Europe?¹

The question mark at the end of my title is intended as a reminder of the, still, problematic nature of these terms, especially when used in combination with one another. Happily, the editors save me the effort of explicating the second one: heuristically, 'Central Europe' here stands for what was once the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Habsburg Monarchy—and that is just about as acceptable as any (or several) other notions of the same. But what about the Enlightenment in these lands? Did they have one?

The question is not as trivial as it might look at first glance. On the linguistic evidence, the answer should be surely and unhesitatingly in the affirmative. There was *oświecenie* (Pl. 'enlightenment'²), there were promoters of *világ* or *világosság* (Hun. 'light') as well as patriots regarded as *prosvitljeni* or *rasvećeni* (Cro. 'enlightened') even if only *budítelé* (Cz. 'awakeners'³)—forerunners of the National Awakening). Nevertheless, until relatively recently the underlying ideas of authoritative approaches to the Enlightenment rendered, in the final analysis, all claims inherent in this vocabulary unserious. We were told that the Enlightenment was, for better or worse, the instrumentalization of reason, the disenchantment of the world: man's confidence—or conceit, depending on the perspective—that he could become the master of nature by expelling the element of wonder from it; a 'modern paganism,' a secular utopia erected by its champions, a *petit troupeau des philosophes*, on the power of critical reason to bring and adjudicate tradition and prejudice before its tribunal.⁴ 'Enlightenment' inevitably came to be measured by proximity to a standard which was anti-clerical and freethinking, whose tendency was antithetical to (at least, revealed) religion and could well be materialistic, and subversive of other authorities as well. The epicenter from which all of these rays of Enlightenment were supposed to be disseminated was, of course, Paris, with some secondary or subsidiary points of orientation for those who listened to the call of the times. By definition, recipients would produce belated and more or less faint replicas of the original—

surely so in underdeveloped regions, such as the ones explored in this volume, which, given the lack of a prosperous middle class that was the *par excellence* representative of enlightened ideas (both as their producer and their consumer), even needed to muster up substitute vanguards, and in which this process of reception could be superficial at best.⁵

Within this paradigm of inquiry, the role in which students of the Enlightenment in the “less happy regions of Europe” were cast was to meticulously reconstruct the evidence of proximity, only to find that, on the final analysis, distance was overwhelming. To be sure, this was not very different from the recorded experience of contemporaries, but more about that later. The point is that whereas the branch known as “eighteenth-century studies” was more than capable of treating Central Europe as a domain of interest in its own right and produced highly valuable scholarship, when it came to “Enlightenment,” an ox sat on the tongue. With the exception of very distinguished, but relatively few examples, the Enlightenment in Central and Eastern Europe was approached as synonymous with the reception of the *philosophes* and the achievement of figures who could be mustered up as local counterparts, and of course the degree of penetration was not found convincing enough.⁶ Even when scholars of the region suggested, very properly, “to integrate the history of Eastern Europe [in this case, the Enlightenment in Eastern Europe] with that of general European civilization,” this was intended to counteract the habit whereby “European historical movements are generally described and analyzed where they originated and experienced their earliest and most intensive development” while “the belated and peculiar manifestations of these currents in Eastern Europe” are neglected.⁷ Even though “peculiar” is added to “belated” by the author of this passage, the working hypothesis remains the juxtaposition of the “real thing” and the replica, i.e. the paradigm is contested while still accepting its premisses.

Developments in the study of the Enlightenment over the last two to three decades provide useful tools to overcoming this “structuring of the European space in an East-West dichotomy”, if I may borrow the words of the editors of this volume. It is becoming possible to talk about “enlightenments,” rather than a single phenomenon with a definite article and a capital letter (predominantly francophone, hallmarked by *philosophes*),⁸ or at least to suggest that whereas the Enlightenment was a movement more or less unified by the questions it asked, the answers varied widely along cultural-geographical as well as ideological frontiers—while all had a legitimate claim to be regarded as “enlightened.”⁹ In a *lumières sans philosophes* it is also possible to acknowledge that typically enlightened goals could be pursued without being

subversive of established authorities, secular or ecclesiastical. Indeed, Enlightenment might become part of such establishments, and applied to their consolidation. Thereby nobles and clergymen (and not just French *abbés*, distinguished by their irreligion) may gain a foothold, if not in the pantheon, at least among the rank-and-file of the Enlightenment, and the reforming minister no longer looks like a special preserve of enlightened despotism, invented in peripheral regions as a last resort in order to keep the pace dictated by the progress of Europe's 'center.' As regards the centrality of reason, it remains unchallenged, but in the hands of a great many figures whose enlightened credentials would be hard to question, it is recognized as more or less synonymous with moderation, and its tribunal, rather than pronouncing verdicts, as serving up exhortations and advice—or, at its most militant, with warning.

To be sure, reason was 'instrumentalized' by the Enlightenment in the sense that the knowledge its practitioners 'dared' to accumulate¹⁰ was not for its own sake. Enlightenment may have been many things to many people, but to all of them it was to discover hitherto unknown, and to examine and systematize already known facts and truths about man's physical and social-moral environment, to communicate them to (and about them with) their fellow human beings in order to test them and fully to assess their import—all of this with the ultimate goal of improving the environment which was the object of their inquiry. To put it simply, this was a pursuit of happiness: material and, no less important, spiritual well-being and satisfaction for themselves and others, the one being inseparable from the other. When it is claimed that the Enlightenment outside Western Europe lacked 'profundity,' what is meant is not only that the socio-cultural environment being different, its 'reception' could only have been 'superficial,' but also that the 'original contributions' in terms of the theoretical system(s) associated with the Enlightenment were meager in these intellectual wastelands. In view of the foregoing, this is to miss the point: those 'systems' themselves concerned to a considerable extent just the practical business of common life. And this already brings me closer to the point to be discussed in this introduction. For the Enlightenment conceived as a quest for improvement—which naturally targets an object to act upon—motivated by the sentiment of sympathy or fellow-feeling (sociability or 'humanity')—which, again, may be boundlessly cosmopolitan, but would more commonly be bestowed on a more or less clearly defined orbit—and, finally, to be expressed through communication within the space targeted by the effort of improvement,¹¹ is certainly not only applicable to circumstances in eighteenth-century Central Europe, but also highly relevant to the problem area of the shaping of collective identity dis-

courses in the period. For precisely these properties of the Enlightenment lent themselves readily to drawing the outlines of a novel discourse of collectivity and patriotism and, ultimately, of nationhood.

This is not to say that the contemplation of distance to a putative ('Western') standard should not be prominent in our approach to the Enlightenment in Central (Eastern) Europe. But rather than based on the twentieth-century construction of a magisterial Enlightenment of cultural critics, religious sceptics and political reformers, this contemplation should more usefully focus on the recorded evidence from the pens of eighteenth-century 'Easterners,' who saw the West and hailed it on account of its humanity, learning and urbanity—which *may* or *may not* have had to do with the daring and uncompromising radicalism implied in the familiar perspective. Indeed, if the (Western) Enlightenment "invented Eastern Europe" as a constitutive other in its rudeness, 'Easterners,' although too late to be contenders for the patent rights, did not always contradict. Exercises in real geography, whether withdrawing to the study room or taking to the road, led them to the construction of mental maps in which the measurement of distance was not by mileage but by improvement or the lack of it. In this process, the distance might assume dimensions that could only be grasped in terms of a linguistic barrier: Mozart's incomprehension, both very real and symbolic, on crossing the border on his way from Vienna to Prague, or that of Fichte passing through Silesia,¹² has its telling counterpart in Dinicu Golescu's confession that his native tongue was insufficient to render the accomplishments observed during his travels.¹³ As a matter of fact, to conceive of the distance in the rather abstract terms of one's language being inferior because unsuitable for expressing modern improvements—whether in the field of classical German philosophy, mining technology or the science of government—one did not at all need to heed maps, real or symbolic. And once this step was made, a quite direct link was forged between the project of cultivating the vernacular and the Enlightenment as presented above: besides, and, in some, cases rather than, being the token and the cement of a community of kinship, language was viewed as a tool of communication whose accuracy was indispensable for the enjoyment of the blessings of improvement. "No nation ever became learned in a language other than its own," György Bessenyei claimed earlier in his career with programmatic conciseness, long before he wrote the *Oration*, published in this volume, as yet another plea for the vernacularization of learning.¹⁴ If a Hungarian example was mentioned, let it be immediately added that it was precisely on the same grounds that Croats rejected the use of Hungarian in public affairs and campaigned for the cultivation of their own štokavian dia-

lect (as evidenced by Janko Drašković's *Dissertation, or Treatise* in this collection).¹⁵

Anywhere in eighteenth-century Europe, the perceived ailing conditions of the local environment, whether in direct comparison to 'more fortunate' lands or just on the basis of 'impartial observation,' began to swell the hearts of those who referred to themselves and their likes as 'patriots' with sentiments of benevolence towards their countrymen and a dedication to the cause of their well-being and to promoting improvement. I am deliberately using a vocabulary of sentimentalism in order to emphasize that the Enlightenment as being an age of 'cool reason' is just another stereotype that does not hold: it was an age of sensibility and of emotions, felt to be humane and lofty by those who were imbued by them. The semantic content of patriotism itself was thereby undergoing a shift. By the heritage of the ancient city-states, enriched in so many ways by their humanist admirers, patriotism was civic activism, the exertion of one's political virtue by conscientiously turning one's freedom, guaranteed by the institutions of the republic, to public benefit. This, of course, crucially depended on the availability of a polity erected on the principle of participation. Enlightenment patriotism was ambivalent in regard to the activist element in the civic humanist paradigm (fearing that its lapse may result in a morally harmful political laziness and diffidence, while recognizing that its natural home was a smaller and 'ruder' state, and that it also depended on compromises, such as legally sanctioned social inequality—slavery). It kept concern for the public weal as a criterion, but developed a different notion of what this implied. Rather than necessarily having his voice heard in government affairs, the patriotic citizen was now regarded as one who, having acquired a thorough knowledge of the conditions of the fatherland in need of improvement—hence the enormous significance of statistical and geographic descriptions which proliferated everywhere in the period—engaged in an informed exchange with like-minded individuals about the implementation of relevant projects, whether the founding of an educational institution or a society for the cultivation of natural philosophy, the launching of a learned or polite magazine or a subscription for a book, the collection of a library, the overhauling of roads and canals, or the emancipation of serfs.¹⁶

To be sure, the patriotic minister, or the patriotic monarch for that matter, is not a contradiction in terms according to this language. The Enlightenment in Central Europe, even today, and not unreasonably, is to a considerable extent still associated with the emblematic reforming rulers: two Habsburgs, Maria Theresa and (much more so) her son, Joseph II, and Stanislas Augustus

of Poland. The policies of the former were certainly inspired by the perspective of the *Gesamtmonarchie*, and thus ran counter to the *Landespatriotismus* of the elites in their Bohemian and Hungarian possessions. But just as the entire issue of ‘enlightened absolutism’ is too complex to discuss here, the issue of their relationship to patriotism is also more complex than simply that it evoked, first, a conservative defense of the status quo (identified with national liberty) and, second, a quest by those elites for learned advice, which would then change the whole face of the resistance in these provinces. For not only did their initiatives, and the principles behind them, as explicated in documents like Joseph’s *Réveries*, answer both the above criteria of eighteenth-century patriotism and their contemporary rendering in the little treatise *On the love of Fatherland* by Joseph von Sonnenfels, one of the architects of Viennese enlightened absolutism, they also created a network of administrative, educational and other institutions, and to a certain extent even provided for the operation of institutions of sociability, in which their not too numerous local partners could cultivate and exert their commitment to “patriotism” in the above sense—until their ways parted, because their answers to the questions they each asked now started to differ. But many a Hungarian enlightened patriot like Bessenyei started his career in Maria Theresa’s Royal Hungarian Guard in Vienna, or, like József Hajnóczy, in the district administration set up by Joseph II. The Bohemian Count Franz Joseph Kinsky took over the command of the Theresian Military Academy at Wiener Neustadt in 1779 as a patriotic assignment. The latter’s Polish counterpart, the Cadet Corps (or ‘Knight School’) in Warsaw’s Kazimierz Palace, also had an aristocratic patron, Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski as its first commandant from 1765. Here, as at the academy of Kinsky (himself an important writer on education), the ideas of Locke and Rousseau were creatively used in developing a curriculum aimed not only at training qualified officers and public servants, but broadly educated, patriotic citizens, aware of their country’s faults and needs.¹⁷

Questions of political identity, in the sense of the demarcation of the community whose improvement was targeted by these initiatives, were more implicit than explicit in them, or rather they unfold when set against the background of the pattern of political thinking in the period. If I have played down the element of politicization within the Central European Enlightenment in this introduction so far, it is now time to address it. It is necessary, first, to take a brief look at the political status quo in Bohemia, Hungary and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—each of which can be described by reference to the notion of a composite monarchy, yet in rather different ways.

As regards the former two, while the Habsburgs established themselves on both thrones in 1526, the forcible integration into the imperial administrative and cultural patterns that took place in the Czech lands after the battle of White Mountain in 1620, though attempted (especially under Leopold I), never succeeded in Hungary, where the positions of the estates were, if anything, consolidated in the compromise that followed the apparent defeat of the Rákóczi rebellion (1703–1711). Thus, by the time Maria Theresa and Joseph II launched their administrative, judicial and social reforms, in Bohemia the cameralist-inspired policies of their predecessors had done a great deal to prepare the ground. The situation was more ambivalent in the Kingdom of Hungary, where the ancient constitution (or rather, the customs and statutes of the realm) were in full vigor, and though the estates were willing partners in some improvements, there were limits to this—so, after 1754, Hungary was the only part of the Habsburg Monarchy where nobles still did not pay taxes. Finally, there was Poland's famous—or notorious—noble republic, the democracy of the gentry. If the Hungarian nobility insisted that the martial prowess of their ancient 'Scythian' ancestors created an indefeasible hereditary right for them, as the *communitas regni*, to have a voice in governing the realm, so even more emphatically did the 'Sarmatianism' of their Polish counterparts vindicate the right to govern themselves.

The Polish and the Hungarian cases offer particularly exciting comparative perspectives. In the latter, a segment of the estates, partly on their own initiative and partly encouraged and instigated by the "foreign" monarch, became enthusiastic about improvement, some of them serving him in office, while becoming increasingly jealous of the country's liberties—thus wedged between the court and most of their peers.¹⁸ Similarly, there was an enlightened version of Sarmatianism, not confined to the defense of feudal liberties and supportive of the efforts of Stanislas Augustus to strengthen the country through reforms. This was an attitude that had to establish itself not only in the face of the reluctance of the bulk of the *szlachta*, but also in that of Poland's powerful neighbors whose interest was to keep it weak and anarchical—and at least one of them had a 'fifth column' in the country: the 'Russian party' that arose after Peter I's mediation in the conflict between the Polish nobility and King Augustus II early in the century.¹⁹

These peculiarities of the political traditions, institutions, realities and imperatives were also relevant to the character of the Enlightenment, and on the terms whereby its representatives expressed collective identity, in each of the three countries. Bohemia, where the legal and institutional means of asserting patriotic endeavours were least favorable for doing so in directly political

ways, was nevertheless—or, if we recall the pattern applied to Scotland's 'age of improvement' as mentioned above,²⁰ perhaps precisely for this reason—a quite natural home for a patriotism expressed in terms of sociability and projects for the refinement of the polite and the useful arts, of taste and the sciences.²¹ As a matter of fact, there were vigorous attempts to stress the historic rights of the Bohemian kingdom and the estates, especially in the works of two learned Bohemian German Piarists, Gelasius Dobner and Mikuláš Adaukt Voigt, the title of whose work, *Of the Spirit of Bohemian Laws* (1788), speaks for itself. But civility, indeed civilization, and culture were central to the Bohemian Enlightenment, and the relative irrelevance of political representation through the nobility also facilitated a drift of notions of patriotism and identity away from the polity, its traditions and its excellence—and towards language. As already hinted, together with the main reasons, there were similar developments everywhere in the region, but in the Czech lands they came rather early. Its most striking expression, Josef Dobrovský's 1791 address to Emperor Leopold II, published in this volume, was preceded and prepared by two decades during which 'apologies' for the Czech language were firmly on the agenda.

In the given circumstances it would have been certainly rather difficult for Czechs in the Age of Enlightenment to develop, even desire, an identity based on political legitimacy and active citizenship. Also, from the preoccupation with language there is a more or less direct route towards definitions based on ethnicity. Nevertheless it is obvious that even the Czech case cannot be simply accommodated within the dichotomous view according to which modern notions of national identity were products of the Enlightenment in the 'West' and arose as a reaction to the Enlightenment in the 'East.'²² Still more complex is the Hungarian and the Polish story. In both countries, a tradition in which *natio* was associated with political participation (to be sure, by the privileged) was unbroken. Both of them looked back to medieval origins, and if 'Scythianism' was conceived by reference to ancient custom, reinforced by legal humanism, 'Sarmatianism' spoke the language of participatory republicanism.²³ The one, towards the end of the period, created the myth of the parallel historical development of the English and the Hungarian constitutions, while the other held that in England political freedom was too limited in comparison to Poland. Very tellingly, Montesquieu chose the example of the Hungarian nobility to illustrate the importance of intermediary powers for a monarchical state in the *Spirit of the Laws*, while Rousseau believed that Poland was the only European country still suitable for receiving a constitution to save it from the evils of modernity.²⁴ Both of these concepts,

‘imagining’ the nation as a body politic, were conservative and exclusive *socially*—but not exclusive on strictly ethnic grounds, and this, coupled with the Enlightenment project of improvement or social reform, made civic nationhood not at all a foregone conclusion. Arguably, the moment of Enlightenment came in Hungary when some patriots reminded that the country’s ailing conditions were not so much the result of the ‘colonial system’ operated by Vienna but its lack of social solidarity, which depended on improvement as much as the other way round; and in Poland, when it was recognized that the improvement which was essential to avoid sinking into (even greater) dependence on foreign powers, also involved the assertion of social solidarity. Both recognitions concluded in proposals for the dismantling of estates barriers, framed in discourses of emancipatory patriotism by József Hajnóczy in the Hungarian case and by Hugo Kołłątaj or Stanisław Staszic in the Polish one.²⁵

At the same time, very naturally, important statements on language as constitutive of nationhood were put forward by Hungarians and Poles, as by others in Europe East or West, only to remain mutually supplementary and not mutually exclusive with the civic definition, with shifting emphases as the circumstances dictated or allowed. After the demise of the Polish state, the views advanced by Franciszek Jezierski²⁶ quite quickly became the core of a dominant idiom of ethno-linguistic-cultural nationhood in Poland. In Hungary, too, once the language issue was thrown into prominence, partly by the above-mentioned imperatives of improvement, and partly by Joseph II’s German language decree, and received reinforcement from the sensibilities of Romanticism, it remained an important current alongside the concept of the Hungarian liberals of the “unitary Hungarian political nation.” The latter grafted the Enlightenment heritage, together with early-nineteenth century liberalism, on the gentry tradition, in arguing that the nation is the bulk of the emancipated citizens enjoying equal rights as individuals under a modern constitution—and onto that ground denied demands of collective rights established on the ethno-linguistic principle by those who did not possess an institutional and ideological tradition upon which ‘political nationhood’ could be erected.

The juxtaposition of the notions of civic and ethnic nationhood, together with the discourses of identity and belonging that support them, and their ascription to the Enlightenment and Romanticism (to the ‘West’ and the ‘East’ of Europe), respectively, thus belongs to the realm of those stereotypes that are defeated by the richness and complexity of the material presented in collections like this one. It is not only the case that between the two extremes

there are transitory types whose infinite variety calls the value of the above generalization into question. As I have tried to show, they also make it possible to offer another generalization: that there is a pedigree of each of the shades of nineteenth-century nationalism in Central Europe that can be traced back to what was, apparently, an unprejudiced quest to unite the talents and the commitment of men as reasonable and sociable beings in the service of improvement.

Notes

- 1 I am grateful to Teodora Shek Brnardić and Maciej Janowski for their thoughtful comments.
- 2 Originally and predominantly used in the narrower sense of 'education,' also in the adjectival (*oświecony*: enlightened/educated) and verbal (*oświecić*: to enlighten/to educate) form, but capable of extension.
- 3 To be sure, bilingual Bohemians did not hesitate to use *aufgeklärt* and *aufklären*.
- 4 Of course here I am conflating the very different perspectives of Ernst Cassirer, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, Carl Becker and Peter Gay, and perhaps I am even caricaturing them. But whatever the sophistication of their own arguments, this was the tone they set for the general perception of what the Enlightenment was about.
- 5 Cf. Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 3, where it is argued that until recently advocates of the Enlightenment as a cluster of ideas thought of it as "a unitary phenomenon with canonized thinkers who shared the obvious characteristics of being white, male and drawn from western Europe."
- 6 Before 1989, the political climate in the region itself also favored the quest for a "progressive tradition" in national histories and cultures. At the same time, or precisely for this reason, eighteenth-century studies was in fact a flourishing field especially in Hungary and Poland from the 1960s onwards, and it must be noted that several scholars produced work of lasting value. Salient cases in point are Kálmán Benda, Éva H. Balázs, Domokos Kosáry, Béla Köpeczi for Hungary, and Jerzy Michalski, Zofia Libiszowska, Zofia Zielińska for Poland. The fact that in 1987 Budapest hosted the quadrennial congress of the International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies was to a certain extent a tribute to their achievement which, from about that time on, also started to make an impact on the Western perception of the Enlightenment in the "East".
- 7 Joseph Frederick Zacek, "Introduction," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 10/1 (Spring 1983), p. 1 (issue devoted to the Enlightenment and national awakening in Central and Southeast Europe).
- 8 See several studies by J. G. A. Pocock, most forcefully perhaps in the Introduction to *Barbarism and religion* vol. I. *The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 1–10.
- 9 Mention must be made of a volume which over two decades ago set the problem of unity and diversity within the Enlightenment on a new footing, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in national context* (Cambridge, 1981)—

even though, from the region studied in this volume, only Bohemia received a chapter in it. For an attempt at a revision of both the premisses of this volume and the views advanced by Pocock, see John Robertson, "The Enlightenment above national context," *The Historical Journal* 40 (1997), pp. 667–697. For the notion of a "conservative Enlightenment," see, again the work by Pocock, especially "Conservative Enlightenment and democratic revolutions: The American and French cases in British perspective," *Government and Opposition* 23 (1989), pp. 81–106.

- 10 Let it be noted here that Kant was not the first to borrow Horace's dictum in order to give an identity to the period. *Sapere aude!* was the motto on the medal coined in 1736 for the *Societas Alethophilorum* [Society of the Friends of the Truth] in Berlin. See Erhard Bahr ed., *Was ist Aufklärung? Thesen und Definitionen* (Stuttgart, 1974), p. 57. *Sapere auso* ("to the one who dared to know") was the inscription on a medal King Stanislas Augustus of Poland coined in honor of the Piarist educational reformer Stanisław Konarski in 1765. Cf. Franco Venturi, "Contributi ad un dizionario storico. 1. Was ist Aufklärung? Sapere aude!" *Rivista storica italiana* 71, 1 (1959), pp. 125–6.
- 11 The relevant literature might fill libraries. The Enlightenment as a process of communication about matters of public concern among private individuals was of course, a topic introduced by Jürgen Habermas in *The structural transformation of the public sphere* (1962, English ed. Cambridge, 1989), which has been exploited by historians in many highly creative ways. For a recent summary, see James Van Horn Melton, *The rise of the public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2002). The topics of *Verbesserung* and *Geselligkeit* have become prominent in a torrent of studies on the German eighteenth century (while *Politisierung*, formerly less readily associated with the *Aufklärung*, has also been discovered). "Improvement" and "sociability" have been the organizing notions in a spectacular revival of Scottish Enlightenment studies since the late 1960s on the grounds that, after the incorporating union of 1707 and the resulting loss of the institutional conditions of asserting political virtue, they became the pillars of a new vocabulary of active patriotism and citizenship—not irrelevant to our present purposes. At the same time, it has been also suggested that sociability is a useful concept for making sense of the French Enlightenment itself. Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without sovereignty: Equality and sociability in French thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton, 1994).
- 12 Larry Wolff, "Mozart's Eastern Europe: Bohemians, Albanians, Wallachians and Turks," *Halcyon* 15 (1993), pp. 58, 61, and, more comprehensively, his *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994).
- 13 See below, pp. 104–111.
- 14 See below, pp. 148–154.
- 15 See in Volume II.
- 16 A very poignant representation of the Enlightenment dilemma of "innocence and uncorruptibility versus progressivism" (as well as an attempt to resolve the dilemma) is to be found in the engagement of Ivan Lovrić with Alberto Fortis. See below, pp. 57–64.
- 17 See Teodora Shek Brnardić, *The Enlightened officer at work: The educational projects of the Bohemian Count Franz Joseph Kinsky (1739–1805)*. Ph.D. dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, 2004; Jerzy Lukowski, *Liberty's folly: The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the eighteenth century, 1697–1795* (London and New York, 1991), pp. 221 ff.

- 18 For the Hungarian Josephists and their dilemmas, see Éva H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs 1765–1800: An experiment in Enlightened Absolutism* (Budapest, 1997).
- 19 Paradoxically, the more Poland recovered strength, the greater the external threat became. See E. Rostworowski, “Polens Stellung in Europa im Zeitalter der Aufklärung,” in Rainer Riemenschneider, ed. *Polen und Deutschland im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Braunschweig, 1981); Zofia Zielińska, “Poland between Prussia and Russia in the eighteenth century,” in Samuel Fiszman, ed., *Constitution and reform in eighteenth-century Poland: The Constitution of 3 May 1791* (Bloomington-Indianapolis, 1997), pp. 87–112.
- 20 See above, n. 11.
- 21 Mikuláš Teich, “Bohemia: From darkness into light,” in Porter, Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in national context*, pp. 141–163; Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renaissance* (Pittsburgh, 1997); Jiří Kroupa, “The Alchemy of happiness: The Enlightenment in the Moravian context,” in Mikuláš Teich ed., *Bohemia in history* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 164–181.
- 22 Hans Kohn, *The idea of nationalism: A study in its origin and background* (New York, 1961).
- 23 On the former, it is only the medieval aspects that have been studied extensively by Jenő Szűcs, *Nation und Geschichte: Studien* (Köln, 1981). On the latter see Andrzej Walicki, *The Enlightenment and the birth of modern nationhood: Polish political thought from Noble Republicanism to Tadeusz Kościuszko* (Notre Dame, 1989) and his “The idea of nation in the main currents of political thought in the Polish Enlightenment,” in Fiszman ed., *Constitution and reform*, pp. 155–174.
- 24 Montesquieu, *The spirit of the laws* (Cambridge, 1992), Book VIII, Ch. 9; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The government of Poland* (Indianapolis, 1985). The debt was repaid, with Montesquieu being on many Hungarian lips during the conflict with Joseph II and later, when there were attempts to reframe the relationship between the ruler and the country in terms of the separation of powers, and with Rousseau being an important point of reference for the Polish constitution-makers of 1791. László Péter, “Montesquieu’s paradox of freedom and Hungary’s constitutions 1790–1990,” *History of Political Thought* 16 (1995), pp. 77–104.; Walicki, “The idea of the nation,”; Jörg K. Hoensch, “Citizen, nation, constitution: The realization and failure of the Constitution of 3 May 1791 in light of mutual Polish-French influence,” in Fiszman ed., *Constitution and reform*, pp. 423–451.
- 25 For Hajnóczy, see below, pp. 270–275, and János Poór, “József Hajnóczy,” in András Gerő ed., *Hungarian liberals* (Budapest, 1999), pp. 95–113. As regards the two Polish figures, it should suffice to refer to Kołłątaj’s “Anonymous letters” of the early 1790s, resembling the *Federalist* of Hamilton, Madison and Jay in their quest to retain political liberty while fighting excessive decentralization in Poland; or the fact that Staszic was willing to face despotism in order to get rid of the anarchy of decentralization, a spectre of feudalism. See Maciej Janowski, *Polish liberal thought before 1918* (Budapest, 2004), ch. 1.
- 26 See below, pp. 132–136.

Paschalis M. Kitromilides:
The Enlightenment in Southeast Europe:
Introductory considerations

The Enlightenment in Southeast Europe presupposed all the intellectual claims and aspirations activating the movement in the European mainstream. In other words, the call '*sapere aude*' could be traced in the Balkans as well as elsewhere, beneath deep layers of 'otherness,' difference or backwardness, depending on the observer's perspective, that marked the region out from the more developed areas to the north and west. Because this call could be heard in Balkan voices as well that is why we can talk of an Enlightenment in Southeast Europe. A succession of scholars writing in a variety of forms of Greek in the course of the eighteenth century illustrate with the shifting emphasis of their argumentation the gradual reception and articulation of the claims and aspirations of the Enlightenment. In the 1720s Nicolaos Mavrocordatos discussed the quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns and argued for the superiority of the Moderns, suggesting that if Aristotle came back to life he would gladly become a disciple of the Moderns because they had deciphered the mysteries of nature better than the Ancients. From the 1740s to the 1760s Eugenios Voulgaris launched modern philosophy in the schools of the Greek cultural area (Jannina, Kozani, Mt. Athos, Constantinople) by introducing into the curriculum the ideas of Descartes, Leibniz and Locke next to those of Plato and Aristotle. In the 1760s and 1770s Nikiphoros Theotokis introduced Newtonian physics, pointing out that the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model of the universe could not adequately explain the movements of the celestial bodies. In the 1770s and 1780s Iosipos Moisiodax, in a quite uncompromising manner, promoted the philosophy and values of encyclopedism as the blueprint of a new intellectual and ethical attitude that might liberate Balkan society, or what he called "Hellas," from prejudice, superstition, irrationality and intolerable backwardness. In the 1790s, echoing a new revolutionary era in European history, the authors of a remarkable geographical treatise, *Novel Geography*, aired sharp social criticism castigating ecclesiastical corruption, the idleness of monasticism and popular superstition, and

appealed for the reform of language, education and social mores as a way of overcoming backwardness and renewing society. Finally, in 1797 the culmination of the process of intellectual and moral change we call the Enlightenment came about in the revolutionary vision of Rigas Velestinlis, who projected a Jacobin-inspired “Hellenic Republic” uniting all Balkan ethnic, cultural and religious communities under the rule of law, thus liberating them from Ottoman despotism.

All these texts and the hopes they embodied used Greek as their language, but they were accessible to members of all ethno-linguistic communities in Balkan society on account of the educational practices prevailing at the time. These other ethno-linguistic communities in the Balkans could also introduce their own representatives into the canon of Enlightenment ideas. The Romanians could put another prince, Dimitrie Cantemir, next to Nicolaos Mavrocordatos as a representative of early Enlightenment concerns in Balkan culture. The Serbs could place, next to Iosipos Moisioudax, the good-natured figure of Dositej Obradović as another proponent of the desirability of the whole-hearted adoption of European models for the reform of Balkan culture. Next to them we might place Constantin Radovici, better known under his literary name, Dinicu Golescu, who, through his travels, like Moisioudax and Obradović, discovered the gap separating his country, Wallachia, from more “civilized” countries to the West, and thus gave earnest voice to a sense of the need for cultural change. Next to the authors of *Novel Geography*, Daniil Philippidis and Grigorios Constantas, both members of the celibate clergy, we could place another clergyman, Naum Râmniceanu, who wrote in Greek but enunciated ideas of Romanian patriotism and did not mince his words when it came to criticizing the failures of contemporary society to meet the standards of morality and civility he judged necessary for the uplifting of the homeland.

Examples could be multiplied. In the course of the nineteenth century, Balkan authors, who as often as not had been trained in Greek schools but wrote in either Bulgarian or Albanian, discovered and extolled the individuality of their peoples through the cultivation of their distinct linguistic identity. Hence the emphasis on alphabet, grammar and the reform of language we find in the work of authors such as Naum Veqilharxhi, Petar Beron and Neofit Rilski. Language reform became a major means for the promotion of the Enlightenment project throughout Balkan culture. As a factor in the politics of the Enlightenment, the language question is a constant feature of Balkan culture and a bridge to the politics of Romanticism in the region. As a matter of fact, concern with language began as an integral part of the aspira-

tions of the Enlightenment, but its full import as a dynamic factor of cultural change in the Balkans was felt only in the context of the politics of Romanticism in the course of the nineteenth century.

The image of the Enlightenment in Southeast Europe that emerges from this broad range of sources could be likened to a multicolored fabric, weaving together the diverse threads making up the complexity of Balkan society. Despite this diversity, which reflects the cultural pluralism of the region, neither Balkan society nor the Enlightenment in the region should be understood as incoherent, as lacking a certain cohesion determined by shared features. The eighteenth century in particular was a period during which Balkan culture and society and consequently the Balkan mentality and its ideological traditions appeared to cohere around certain features, which included primarily the Orthodox religious faith, the Ottoman political context and the idea of Europe as a model for the future.¹ The third of these, the idea of Europe, was the feature left by the reception of the Enlightenment in local contexts over a long process of intellectual change. In the broader Balkan regional context² the Enlightenment appeared in the form of two interlocking intellectual processes. One was the gradual emergence, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, and growing apace between 1770 and 1820, of a greater density in intellectual life: this was reflected in the multiplication of cultural and educational initiatives, and can be confirmed by important quantitative indicators such as the growing number of books and the explosion in the number of subscribers to them.³ The other intellectual process suggesting the growth of the Enlightenment in the Balkan context was the secularization of knowledge, again as indicated by the number of secular books and publications of a non-religious content appearing during the period in question in the main Balkan languages. If the number of publications supplies a concrete quantitative indicator of the flow of intellectual processes, other forms of evidence as well suggest, occasionally in indirect but revealing ways, the growth of secularization: the emergence, for the first time, of lay intellectuals, that is, people involved in education and more broadly in the world of ideas who were not members of the clergy. This was an important feature of generational change in Balkan culture. Another suggestive indicator of secularization was the gradual articulation of modern political notions in the discourse of intellectuals in the various Balkan cultural and linguistic traditions.

These broad processes of intellectual change were expressed through the articulation of a few central concerns and recurring interests, which account for some remarkable regularities marking the content of Balkan Enlightenment literatures. Appraised in a long-term historical perspective, these shared

interests of Enlightenment literature in the Balkans reflect initially the process of secularization but also announce the eventual transition to distinct national identities.

One of the foremost shared concerns in Balkan thought in the age of Enlightenment was language reform. Reflection on the significance of language, on its parlous state on account of the overall decline of the society of its users, and on the appropriate means for its rehabilitation to its proper form so as to authentically express the spirit of the cultural community of its speakers, appears as a constant theme in one Balkan Enlightenment tradition after another. Part of the motivation for this stemmed from the aspiration to emancipate the vernaculars from the dominance of official cult languages, either New Testament Greek or Church Slavonic. Those who argued for this change, however, knew very well that the vernaculars, essentially languages with infinite local dialectical variations, were the medium of expression primarily of illiterate peasant masses. These peasant languages had transmitted the core of the linguistic heritage of particular population groups, and very often their diction and idioms could be shown to be of great antiquity and therefore to reflect a distinguished cultural pedigree of the populations that spoke them. But in their modern spoken forms, after centuries of foreign rule and cultural decline, Balkan vernaculars appeared barely appropriate for sophisticated intellectual and scientific discourse. Hence the focus on the reform of language that dominates the Balkan Enlightenment. The language question was a central issue in Greek Enlightenment literature and remained a cultural problem of great political import in the independent Greek state throughout the nineteenth and even in the twentieth century. Language reform dominates the cultural reflections of Dimitrios Katartzis, who argued that the spoken Greek vernacular of his time was a perfectly appropriate medium for sophisticated cultural expression. In this he was joined by Iosipos Moisiodax, who devoted to the language question the prolegomena of his *Theory of Geography* published in 1781. Katartzis' views were shared and put to practice by the authors of the *Novel Geography* in 1791. But it was Adamantios Korais, the Greek classical scholar who from his Parisian seclusion argued in the prolegomena he included in volume after volume of his editions of classical Greek texts for the need to reform and purify Modern Greek so as to make it an appropriate medium for the re-education of his compatriots. Similar concerns over language were voiced in Serbian intellectual circles in the Habsburg Empire, and they surface in the reflections of Dositej Obradović concerning the requirements for the cultural revival of his people. Language and language reform were placed at the epicenter of Ser-

bian cultural thought by Vuk Karadžić later in the nineteenth century, thus bringing full circle a cultural debate that went back to the age of the Enlightenment.⁴

Concern with their Latin-based language together with an active interest in the Latinity of their people dominated the cultural thought of the authors of the Romanian Enlightenment as well. In the form enunciated by the exponents of the 'Transylvanian School' these concerns became dominant in the entire subsequent Romanian tradition.⁵ The significant political dynamic immanent in the language question was made plain in the most important political act of the Romanian Enlightenment, the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* of 1791, whereby the dignitaries of the Transylvanian Romanians asserted the rights of their people with the Habsburg authorities. It is quite significant that among their demands they voiced the claim of the recognition of the Romanian language, as reflected in the original place names of the country.⁶

Concern with language provided the initial motivation to the movement of intellectual change among the Bulgarians as well. This clearly comes across in Paisij Hilendarski's arguments in favor of Bulgarian against the preference of his contemporaries for the more prestigious Greek.⁷ It also surfaces in the other major inaugural text of Bulgarian self-assertion, the 'Autobiography' of Sofronie Vrachanski.⁸ This was the historical and ideological background to the nineteenth-century projects on Bulgarian grammar and the cultivation of the Bulgarian language, connected especially with authors like Neofit Rilski and Partenij Zografski.

Secularization of thought involved a new perception of the world. That is why symbolic geography is such a crucial component of the Enlightenment project in Southeast Europe. People discovered a broader and different world beyond the local community through mobility and travel in foreign lands. The traditional version of mobility had taken the form of pilgrimages to the holy lands of the faith. This was registered in pre-Enlightenment geographical literature, which was composed mostly of descriptions of the holy places in Palestine and other major places of religious pilgrimage in the Orthodox world, such as Mt. Sinai. This geography of faith was replaced in the age of Enlightenment by a new symbolic geography that described the achievements of secular civilization in Western and Central Europe as models to be imitated and emulated in the southeastern regions of the continent, which aspired, under the impact of Enlightenment culture, to affirm and confirm their European identity.

In literary terms the new symbolic geography took the form of either geographical treatises or travel accounts. A succession of important geographical

treatises in Greek punctuated the growth of secular symbolic geography in the course of the eighteenth century. Works by Meletios Mitrou (1728), Grigorios Phatseas (1760), Nikiphoros Theotokis (1774, first ed. 1804) and Daniil Philippidis and Grigorios Constantas (1791) represent the main landmarks of a geographical literature that established in unequivocal terms the models of European civilization as the normative standard for the self-evaluation of Greek and, more generally, Balkan culture.⁹ These Greek works were read and adapted by representatives of other Balkan literary traditions, for example, Joakim Vujić and a host of Bulgarian authors in the nineteenth century.¹⁰ Thus the new symbolic geography reached a broader audience, transcending linguistic demarcation lines that remained fluid and penetrable in a transitional age.

A more intimate literary genre of symbolic geography was made up by travel accounts. Works by D. Obradović, J. Vujić, D. Golescu fulfilled an ideological function similar to that of Enlightenment geographical literature in opening up the consciousness of their readers to the marvels of the secular civilization of modernity. In this way, through constant comparison with the models of the culture of lights, Balkan thought was brought to awareness of the need of change.

A parallel process transformed Balkan society's understanding of the past. In this domain the secularization of social thought took the form of a transition from a sense of a common Christian history of the people of the Balkans to the discovery of distinct ethnic pasts by particular linguistic communities within the broader world of Balkan Orthodoxy. This was perhaps the most consequential of all intellectual changes brought about by the Enlightenment. In the case of the Greeks and the Romanians, it led to the discovery of their respective ancient Hellenic and Latin origins. Enlightenment historiography in Greek from 1750 onward reflects with growing density this transition.¹¹ The members of the Transylvanian school, with Petru Maior as their foremost representative in the field of historiography, became the founding fathers of the definition of a Romanian historical identity on the basis of the historical presence of Emperor Trajan's armies in Dacia. The Serbs and the Bulgarians, on the other hand, sought their distinct historical personality by turning to their medieval imperial past. This discovery, thanks to the historiographical projects of Jovan Rajić and Paisij Hilendarski, respectively, infused a sense of pride in the bosom of Balkan Slavs, who had felt humiliated and demoralized by captivity and oppression. The feelings connected with the new historiography, which was premised on an agenda of secular values and aspirations, contributed to the cultivation of a new collective identity that eventually could feel vindicated only in national assertion.

All these trends in Balkan Enlightenment culture, which, at different intervals and with varying degrees of density, can be traced in the literature produced in the various Balkan languages in the course of the eighteenth and in the early decades of the nineteenth century, could only culminate in the articulation of political demands. These demands were voiced as a rule by Enlightenment intellectuals on behalf of their linguistic and cultural communities, which after 1789, in an age of revolution throughout Europe, were conceived as nations. One of the earliest such demands was connected once again with the Transylvanian School and took the form of the above-mentioned *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, claiming the rights of the Romanian nation in Transylvania in 1791. Many similar demands were to follow in a variety of literary forms. One famous example was the letter of Đorđe Petrović, better known as Karađorđe, addressed in May 1806 to the prince-bishop of Montenegro, Petar Petrović Njegoš. The author of the letter set forth the grievances and aspirations of the Serbian people, who in 1804 had risen in revolt against oppression.

Similar feelings and aspirations were expressed on behalf of the Greeks by Adamantios Korais in his famous *Report on the present state of civilization in Greece* of 1803. Although this was not a political manifesto but an extensive sociological essay, it nevertheless amounted to nothing less than an announcement of a coming revolution visualizing the liberation of Greece from Ottoman despotism.¹² Another Greek patriot, Rigas Velestinlis, had attempted in 1797 to set the revolution in motion through his revolutionary proclamation and his conspiratorial activity. But his vision of a 'multicultural' Jacobin republic in Southeast Europe was preempted by his martyrdom in June 1798 at the hands of Ottoman authorities in Belgrade, to whom he and his companions were extradited by the Austrians after their arrest in Trieste and interrogation in Vienna.¹³

The nineteenth century was punctuated by political demands and revolutionary aspirations that visualized the transformation into nation-states of the cultural nations that had been produced by reflection on language, the new symbolic geography and Enlightenment historiography. Ivan Seliminski's letter to Georgi Zolotovitch in November 1843 and Pashko Vasa's *The truth on Albania* in 1879 voice the aspiration to independent statehood that came to be seen, in the century of what Adamantios Korais termed the "freedom of nations,"¹⁴ as the natural and necessary fulfillment of the logic of history. Thus the Enlightenment tradition in Southeast Europe seemed to come full circle, after a long and protracted trajectory that had spanned more than a century and a half. The aspiration to political change appeared as the logical culmination and the quintessential fulfillment of the Enlightenment.

It is somehow curious and certainly an instance of the cunning of history that the epilogue to this whole Enlightenment tradition was written not in the Balkan heartlands or in the diaspora where it had originated, but in Istanbul, the metropolis of ‘despotism,’ against which the political edge of the Balkan Enlightenment had always been directed. The epilogue came in the writings of Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals who from the 1830s to the 1870s became the protagonists of the reform movement in the Empire. The imperial edict of the Rose Chamber (Gülhane) in 1839, drafted by Mustafa Reşid Paşa, was a genuine manifesto of Enlightenment political principles: it propounded the classical demands of European liberalism (equality, security, administrative order) as fundamental guidelines for the reform of the Ottoman Empire and its evolution into a constitutional state governing a pluralist society. No one expressed these aspirations in a more moving and noble spirit than the poet İbrahim Şinasi.¹⁵ In his *Odes* and other writings we have a late blossoming of Enlightenment humanism and a reflection of that optimistic vision which trusted the power of reason and of the good will of enlightened spirits to transform the world.

Many generations of earlier Enlightenment thinkers in the Balkans would have recognized in these late Ottoman reflections the precise expression of the aspirations that had inspired the movement of cultural change in one Balkan linguistic community after another over the long period of the Enlightenment’s gestation in the region. The tragedy of the Balkan Enlightenment as a whole and of its Ottoman epilogue in particular consisted in the antinomy between these noble visions and hopes and the passions of nationalism, into which the original aspirations of freedom nurtured by the Enlightenment had been transformed. Nationalism turned the Ottoman vision of Enlightenment into the twilight of that tradition in Southeast Europe.

Notes

- 1 Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “Balkan mentality: History, legend, imagination,” *Nations and Nationalism* 2 (1996), pp. 163–191.
- 2 For an elaboration of the concept of “regional context” that might correct the risk of anachronism inherent in the notion of “national context”, see P. M. Kitromilides, “Reappraisals of Enlightenment political thought”, in *From republican polity to national community*, ed. P. M. Kitromilides (Oxford 2003), *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 1–16.
- 3 In this area the greatest research tools are the monumental bibliographical compendia compiled for Greek bibliography by Émile Legrand, and for Romanian

bibliography by Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoș. More recently the field of South-east European bibliography has been enriched by the works of Philippos Iliou, most notably his *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία [Greek Bibliography] 1801–1818* (Athens, 1997), a work that includes an extensive introduction on book production in the age of the Enlightenment. The same scholar has produced important studies of subscribers to Greek books in the period 1750–1821. These have appeared in the periodical *Ο Εραμιστής* 12 (1975), pp. 102–179 and 22 (1999), pp. 172–240 respectively.

- 4 Duncan Wilson, *The life and times of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, 1787–1864* (Oxford, 1970).
- 5 See Keith Hitchins, *The Romanian national movement in Transylvania, 1780–1849* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), and more recently his *A nation discovered: Romanian intellectuals in Transylvania and the idea of nation, 1700–1848* (Bucharest 1999).
- 6 David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (Bucharest, 1971), pp. 455–466, esp. pp. 464–465, art. 5.
- 7 Paisy Hilendarski, *A Slavo-Bulgarian history: A facsimile of the original Zograph manuscript draft (1762)*, transl. by Krasimir Kobakchiev (Sofia, 2000).
- 8 *Vie et tribulations du pecheur Sofroni*, transl. by Jack Feuillet (Sofia, 1981).
- 9 P. M. Kitromilides, “Europe and the dilemmas of Greek conscience,” in Philip Carabott, ed., *Greece and Europe: Aspects of a troubled relationship* (London, 1995) pp. 1–15. For a fuller consideration of the import of Enlightenment geographical literature see P. M. Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός: Οι πολιτικές και κοινωνικές ιδέες* [Neo-hellenic Enlightenment: The political and social ideas] (Athens, ³2000), pp. 125–164.
- 10 See Nadja Danova, “La géographie contemporaine de Gr. Konstandas et D. Philippides et les Bulgares,” *Etudes balkaniques* 4 (1975), pp. 56–74.
- 11 See Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, pp. 83–124, and for a brief survey in English *idem*, “Greek historiography, Modern”, in *A global Encyclopedia of historical writing*, ed. by D. R. Woolf (New York and London, 1998), vol. I, pp. 378–381.
- 12 For a fuller exposition, see Kitromilides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, pp. 381–427.
- 13 See for more details P. M. Kitromilides, “An Enlightenment perspective on Balkan cultural pluralism: The republican vision of Rigas Velesinlis,” *History of Political Thought* XXIV (2003), pp. 465–479.
- 14 Adamantios Korais, *Σημειώσεις εις το προσωρινόν πολίτευμα της Ελλάδος* [Notes on the provisional constitution of Greece], ed. by Th. Volidis (Athens, 1933), p. 128.
- 15 For a fuller account see Şerif Mardin, *The genesis of Young Ottoman thought* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 252–275.

CHAPTER I.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SYMBOLIC GEOGRAPHY

IVAN LOVRIĆ: THE CUSTOMS OF THE MORLACHS

Title: *I Costumi dei Morlacchi* (The customs of the Morlachs)

Originally published: Venice, Francesco Sansoni, 1776

Language: Italian

The present translation is based on the Croatian edition: *Bilješke o Putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa i Život Stanislava Sočivice*, translated by Mihovil Kombol (Zagreb: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavenske Akademije, 1948), pp. 57–59, 61–62, 180.

About the author

Ivan Lovrić (Giovanni Lovrich) [ca. 1756, Sinj (*It. Sign*, Dalmatia) – 1777, Sinj]: writer, ethnographer and student of medicine. He was born into a well-to-do merchant family in the Dalmatian town of Sinj and sent by his family to study linguistics and philosophy in Venice and afterwards medicine in Padua. He died at an early age in the midst of his medical studies after having published his chief work, *Observations on various parts of the Travels into Dalmatia of Abbot Alberto Fortis*. In this work, in which the chapter on the customs of the Morlachs forms the greatest part, he sought to correct some assumptions on ‘Morlachism’ and the topography of Dalmatia in the widely read travel account by the Venetian naturalist Alberto Fortis (1741–1803). In his time Lovrić was recognized by anthropologists of the European Enlightenment and later by Romantic writers in Germany, France and England, and his biography of a well-known bandit Stanislav Sočivica was twice translated into English. Sočivica was appropriated by the members of the Illyrian movement in the 1840s as a literary hero incarnating the libertarian spirit of the Slav national character, his family for whom he fought being metaphorically regarded as his homeland. Literary historians and ethnologists rediscovered Lovrić only after WWI with the rise of ethno-anthropological interests among the Croatian scholarly community. Nowadays, his observations on the ‘natural people’ of the Dalmatian hinterland are seen as supplementing Fortis’ well-known account, and supporting the thesis of how the Enlightenment discovered in the Dalmatian Slavs and their manners the ‘European Other.’

Main works: *Osservazioni di Giovanni Lovrich sopra diversi pezzi del viaggio in Dalmazia del signor abate Alberto Fortis: coll'aggiungo della vita di Socivizza* [Observations by Ivan Lovrić on various parts of the Travels into Dalmatia of Abbot Al-

berto Fortis: with the addition of the life of Sočivica] (1776); *Lettera apologetica di Giovanni Lovrich al celebre Signor Antonio Lorgna (...) in cui si confutano varie censure fatte al suo libro Osservazioni* [An apologetic letter by Ivan Lovrić to the distinguished Mr. Antonio Lorgna (...), in which various censures against his book *Observations* are refuted] (1777).

Context

In the 1760s the Republic of Venice, to which Dalmatia belonged as a province, recognized the shortcomings of its economic status and introduced an agricultural policy based on physiocratic ideas.¹ The situation in Dalmatia had been particularly bad and the rural population in the Dalmatian hinterlands, known as Morlacchia, was suffering from famine caused by crop failure. Yet, despite these calamities, it proved difficult to interest the Slavic-speaking Morlachs (*Gr.* Mavrovlachs = 'Black Wallachians') in any sort of bettering of their condition, since their martial culture was incompatible with ideas of agricultural reform. Around the same time the *Serenissima*, anxious to reduce wherever possible the outflow of money abroad, started to exhibit an interest in Dalmatia's natural resources. State emissaries were sent to investigate the province's natural wealth and to recruit local persons of patriotic disposition who might wish to improve their immediate local environment in such urban centers as Split (*It.* Spalato), Trogir (*It.* Tragurio or Traù) and Zadar (*It.* Zara). This resulted in the establishment of the first Public Economic Society in 1767 in Split for the promotion of agriculture, fishing, crafts and trade. As loyal subjects, the middle-class Lovrić family from Sinj actively participated in the physiocratic movement and did their best to improve their estates. The family's economic and social rise was exceptional in the Dinaric backwaters of Morlacchia, where the warlike population showed no inclination to become engaged in socially useful activities. But, as an educated man, Ivan Lovrić believed that knowledge was the key to improvement, and he started to feel a tension between himself and the 'natural men' around him who lacked any vision of the future. Such were the feelings that prompted Lovrić to respond to the travel account of the abbot Alberto Fortis

¹ Physiocracy: a French economic theory which presumed that a nation's wealth derived from agricultural production. In contrast to the protectionist practices of mercantilism, physiocrats were against excessive state intervention and advocated economic liberty.

and to enter into a debate on the nature and perfectibility of Dalmatia's 'noble savages.'

Both Fortis' and Lovrić's texts could be classified as manifestations of the Enlightenment in the Republic of Venice. The geologist Fortis traveled to Dalmatia in 1771, 1773 and 1774 in order to conduct naturalistic and anthropological investigations and to examine local antiquities. He discovered a province polarized both culturally and ethnically between the Romance cities along the coast inhabited by the indigenous, mostly Italian-speaking 'Dalmatians' and the Slavic-speaking Morlachs of the rude Dalmatian Zagora. Nevertheless, the Dalmatian physiocratic movement sought to integrate the province regardless of language and cultural differences and to suppress self-isolating municipalism. 'Dalmatianness' was to be grounded in the awareness of belonging to a common territory and in the history of the independent and ancient Roman province, which in the Middle Ages became a constituent part of the Croatian Kingdom, and was eventually sold to Venice by a claimant to the Hungarian throne Ladislas of Naples in 1409. Dalmatian enlightened intellectuals expected not only state assistance in domestic agricultural production, since land was mostly in the possession of the state, but also the involvement of their Morlach *connazionali* in order to expand the Dalmatian national economy. Buttressing this agenda, the Dalmatian racial type was discursively reinforced, incarnating the virtues of the ancient Dalmatians, a majority-Illyrian tribe, well-known for their courage, discipline, strength and justice. The 'Dalmatian nation,' descending from primitive and uncorrupted democratic tribes, was thought of as being morally superior to the Romans and to other polished nations. In the second half of the eighteenth century Dalmatian physiocrats even envisaged an independent state south of the river Drava, centered around the Adriatic and comprising the Slavic-speaking peoples united by the same language and the same economic interests.

At this period of the decline of the Republic of Venice and the weakening of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, such political projects and calculations were not unusual (see **Tomo Bassegl**i, *Patriotic musings*). Their proponents legitimized themselves both with territorial-historical rights based in public law, and with cultural arguments such as language, origin and manners. However, in comparison with the humanist and baroque tradition, cultural markers come notably to the fore, so that common language (e.g. Illyrian as a Slavic dialect) and manners seem to be more important organic criteria in defining national and political communities than historical-legal ones. On the other hand, references to common economic interests can be regarded as completely new argumentative elements, stemming directly from the

Enlightenment physiocratic discourse, which called for economic liberty and claimed that interest is the primary bond in social order. Fortis' description of the Morlachian national character and manners, followed by Lovrić's critique and his insistence on the perfectibility of the Morlachs, may have contributed to the opening of a public debate on the 'science of man' among the Dalmatian intellectuals. Moreover, the anthropological observations by both authors attracted the broader attention of European Romantics fascinated by exotic savages and their folk songs and superstitious beliefs. Indeed, it was Alberto Fortis who was the first to have discovered and written down the text of the folk ballad 'The Wife of Hasan-Aga' (*Cro. Hasanaginica*). He translated it into Italian and thus made it accessible for the European public.

Lovrić's 'Observations,' written in Italian, are to be read as a response and in part a refutation of Fortis' 'Travels into Dalmatia.' As such, the composition of the book resembles Fortis' and adheres to the genre of travel literature, based on a well-established formula: the national character of the Morlachs, their language and oral culture, their everyday life and finally their banditry. Although treating the same subject, their narrative positions at the same time differ: the Rousseauian Fortis, a member of the Italian 'polite nation,' develops a Western European discourse about the discovery of "men in the state of nature" in the midst of Europe, whereas Lovrić responds from the native position, as a member of the ancient Slav or Illyrian nation. In Fortis' view, the Morlachs and their customs were non-European, barbarian and uncivilized. They are akin to the Tartars, to the Hottentots and to the North American Indians. Nevertheless, they are morally superior to the polite nations because of their natural simplicity, innocence and incorruptibility. In contrast, Lovrić presents the Morlachs as descendants of the Getae, a Thracian people, and relates their manners to Roman and Greek times, thus stressing their European origin. Here Lovrić takes over the humanistic Illyrian ideologem, promoted by the Dalmatian authors ever since the sixteenth century, equating the Illyrians, Thracians and the Slavs. Although perceiving the cultural difference between his compatriots and the urban population along the Adriatic coast, Lovrić acknowledges his ethnic affinity with the Morlachs based on their common language, and thus their linguistically belonging to the Dalmatian national community. In Lovrić's argument for the self-legitimation of the 'Dalmatian nation' within the European context, a discursive rupture from the humanist paradigm is visible in the choice of great national figures: it is no longer saints and invincible heroes that matter, but rather widely-recognized European scientists and great national poets, who used the refined vernacular as their medium. Finally, it may be argued

that Lovrić's enlightened scientific rhetoric is not very different than Fortis,' insofar as it is determined by patriotic loyalty toward the *Serenissima*, progressivist thinking and an ironic attitude toward superstition and ignorance incarnated in Catholic friars and Greek Orthodox monks.

An early death, sometimes explained as a consequence of polemics with Fortis and his party in the Italian journals and of the barbs of Franciscan friars, prevented Lovrić from accomplishing his 'Enlightened Project' in the Dalmatian hinterlands. Although written in Italian, Lovrić's book has been regarded by Croatian literary historians as a patriotic discourse filled with pre-Romantic sensibility and directed against the obscurantism of contemporary Dalmatian society. His treatise was translated into Croatian only in 1948, but has ever since been incorporated into the national canon and studied by many 'Fortisologists' side by side with Fortis' text. The figure of Lovrić has been usually interpreted as a Croat squeezed between East and West, who may be considered as a representative of the *antemurale Christianitatis*, but not fully belonging to European culture.

TSB

The customs of the Morlachs

It is quite natural that the idea of evil remains impressed upon man's heart more readily than that of good. This explains why, due to the barbarity of certain cruel acts, other nations generally regard our Morlachs as being barbarous and unreasonable. However, before forming an opinion about a people, it is necessary to be acquainted with their customs in an exact and detailed manner. This can even be achieved from a sitting position.

*Humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
Sufficit una domus²*

Now that Fortis has described the customs of our Morlachs, my embarking on a similar task may appear unnecessary; but those preferring order, exactitude and a complete knowledge about the customs of a people will find my effort worthwhile. I will not confuse the present and the past, and I will not venture to deny some old deeds because they occur no more. Accordingly, I believe that Donati in his work *Saggio della storia naturale dell'Adriatico* [A

² "If you want to know the customs of a human tribe, all you need to look at is one home." Juvenal, *Satires* 13, 159–160.

Treatise on natural history of the Adriatic] was by no means wrong when he talked about the *barbarity of the inland people*, i.e. the Morlachs.³ If, when traveling through our regions, Fortis had found out that the claim of his fellow citizen was not true, he should not have criticized him for not telling the truth, but rather should have discerned that the customs had changed.

§. I. *Etymology of the name Morlachs; their origin and language*

It is quite surprising that so many Illyrian writers, in copying from each other, always thought that the name “Morlachs” [*It. Morlacchi*] was of a pure Illyrian origin, and that they never knew its proper etymology. But what is even more astonishing is that Fortis, who wanted to correct them, came up with an even more chimeric speculation. I do not know who is more to blame: our writers who did not realize that the word “Morlacchi” is Italianized, or the Italian Fortis, who wanted to prove that it was an Illyrian word by construing its meaning on the basis of his subjective understanding. Following this very natural reasoning, it seems to me that people have so far talked arbitrarily, following suggestions of their mind, not wondering what the ancient Greek writers have had to say thereon. If Lambert⁴ and others are to be trusted, the Greeks used the word *Maurovlachia*, i.e. Black Wallachia, for Upper Wallachia. Hence, it is clear that our Morlachs brought with themselves the name of the regions they had initially come from, and did not acquire it after their invasion of these distant kingdoms. Accordingly, our Lucić⁵ was by all means right to state that the inhabitants of Wallachia and our *Vlachs* (i. e. Morlachs) must have been *completely identical*. Otherwise, I would not venture to claim that all people bearing the same name came only from Wallachia, but rather that the generic name of “Morlachs” spread gradually to those who had come from other regions which shared a similar language and similar customs. Such an evident truth needs no demonstration.

³ Vitaliano Donati (1717–1762), Italian naturalist who studied the flora and fauna of the Adriatic coast and published his observations in the *Saggio della storia naturale marina dell'Adriatico* (Venice, 1745), which was translated into several languages throughout Europe.

⁴ In his footnotes Lovrić refers to *Storia generale, civile, naturale, politica, e religiosa di tutti i popoli del mondo* (Venice, 1752) by Abbé Claude-François Lambert (1705–1765). This was the Italian translation of the compilation *Histoire générale, civile, naturelle, politique et religieuse de tous les peuples du monde* (Paris, 1749).

⁵ Ivan Lucić (1604–1679), the “father of Croatian historiography.” His most important work, to which Lovrić most probably alludes, is *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam, 1666), a critical account of the history of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Dalmatia from ancient times till the fifteenth century.

[...] Let us shift from the etymology to the origin of the Morlachs. This nation appears as a mixture of the ancient northern tribes and the tribes from the Ice Ocean, who—deprived of everything but love for their fatherland—used to roam without fixed abode, while carrying with themselves everything they had and being encouraged by the spirit of plunder. A huge number of people born out of a healthy and strong generation forced them to unify from time to time, and to start providing food for themselves in foreign countries by means of violence as bees do: when they realize that their population has grown, young bees go to search for a new home.

[...] The Morlachs, as everybody knows, speak the Slavic language. Beside, being widely spread, this language is more conspicuous than any other owing to its huge number of terms and the intensity of its expression. It also bears the natural features of ancient languages. When talking to somebody, *voi* is never used, solely *tu* [you],⁶ and this is the most vigorous and the noblest manner of speech which was also common among the ancient Romans. The uncorrupted Slavic language does not have the titles “Mr.” and “the most illustrious,” which is the same in Latin, because the Romans did not say Mr. Caesar, Mr. Cicero, Mr. Pompey, but simply Caesar, Cicero and Pompey.

[...] I do not intend to speak about the antiquity of the Slavic language. Many writers have already spoken about it, and, among them, it is necessary to mention Father Dolci⁷ from Dubrovnik who has talked about it more extensively than anybody else. According to him, the Slavic language originates from the sons of Japheth, as does our nation.⁸ To tell the truth, I would be afraid that I might get confused if I talked about issues so remote. I will only go so far as to note that among so many nations speaking our language, the Morlachs, as it appears to me, have preserved the highest amount of the ancient purity, with the exception of the Muscovites. This is why in Dalmatia we should refer to them for an authentic Illyrian pronunciation, and let the citizens of Dubrovnik not bear a grudge against us in this respect, because

⁶ Italian *Voi* or *Ella* are honorific and polite forms used when addressing a single person as opposed to the more familiar variant *tu*.

⁷ Sebastijan Dolci-Slade (1699–1777), a Franciscan from Dubrovnik. Lovrić hints at his work *De Illyricae linguae vetustate et amplitudine dissertatio historico-chronologico-critica* (Venice, 1754), which was a linguistic attempt to interpret the origin of Slavic languages, and especially of Illyrian.

⁸ A reference to the humanist argument developed by the Dalmatian Vinko Pribojević (fl. 1530) on the autochthonism of the Slavs in the Balkans. According to this theory, all the non-Greek ancient nations in the Balkans (the Thracians, the Illyrians, the Macedonians, the Vandals, etc.) were descendants of Tiras, the son of the Biblical Japheth, and are represented as the direct ancestors of the Slavs.

only they, from those among us who speak foreign languages, are not ashamed to speak in their native tongue generally and with the uttermost elegance. But pronunciation is always preserved best by those who do not speak any other language except for their native one, such as our Morlachs. To be sure, this does not mean that they do not have foreign words and phrases. But, is there a language that does not share this common fate? Commerce between nations must necessarily have such consequences. This is why the inhabitants of maritime areas, cliffs and islands have corrupted the ancient simplicity of the Slavic language by excessive use of Italianisms.

[...] This is the current state of the customs of the Morlachs. Friendship and hospitality places them above other nations. Reckless prodigality has contributed to their downfall to a certain degree. Some habits of theirs while laughable are not at all harmful. Ignorance and superstition are cherished by many, and are the basis of their misfortune. What's the use of a superstitious people? In a time of war, the bravest warriors turn into cowards due to superstition. A solar eclipse, the appearance of a comet, the northern lights—these are all phenomena that can make them timid and rebellious. And who does not know that one instance of such phenomena caused Aemilius Paullus⁹ to defeat Perseus, whom he put in chains and forced to participate in his triumph in Rome? What causes the misery of the Morlachs? Mostly it is due to a group of terrible outlaws who represent a major problem for private, and a significant and continuous danger for public interest. District heads who owe a great deal to the Morlachs for maintaining their respectful status and for keeping honourable positions which they still hold, could make some Morlachs happy, or could at least make them less unhappy. But, the greatest happiness for them would be to free themselves from old superstitions. In this manner they would become laborious in peace and courageous in war. Enlightened people are the architects of their own fortune and the fortune of their prince.

Translated by Iva Polak

⁹ Lucius Aemilius Paullus (d. 160 BC), a Roman consul who defeated the Macedonian King Perseus at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC and thus ended the Third Macedonian War (171–168 BC).

IOSIPOS MOISIODAX: APOLOGY

Title: *Τό πρῶτον κείμενον τῆς παραδόσεως τῆς Γεωγραφίας* (The first text of the lecture on geography) and *Ἐκθεσις ἢ ἡ Ἀπολογία ἡ πρὸς τόν Ἱερώμενο* (Treatise, or the apology against the clergyman) both included in *Ἀπολογία* (Apology)

Originally published: Βιέννη (Vienna), Θωμάς Τράττνερν (Johann Thomas Trattner), 1780

Language: Greek

The excerpts used are from *Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Μοισιόδακος Ἀπολογία, μέρος πρῶτον*, ed. by Alkis Aggelou (Athens: Ερμής, 1976), pp. 81–82, 151–156.

About the author

Iosipos Moisiodax [1725 (?), Cernavoda (Dobrudja, present-day Romania) – 1800 (?), Bucharest]: scholar and teacher. His secular name was Ioannis. However, we have no other information about his family, his childhood and the years of his youth. The surname Moisiodax is an indication of his Vlach ethnic origin. Most probably young Ioannis traveled to Wallachia or Thrace where he learned Greek and received an elementary education from a clergyman. Later on, he studied in several cultural centers of the Balkans and was introduced to the standard wisdom of the time, that is, the neo-Aristotelian tradition, which had been introduced by the followers of Theophilus Korydaleus (1570–1646). His teachers, Iannakos in Salonica (*Gr.* Thessaloniki) and Ierotheos Dendrinis in Smyrna (*Tur.* Izmir), with whom he studied during 1753–54, became the target of his first criticism. He traveled to Mount Athos in 1754–55, where at the local academy he attended the lectures of Evgenios Voulgaris (1716–1806), one of the most distinguished scholars of the time, who was trying to reconcile modern science with religious faith. Thereafter he spent some time in the Aegean islands and in Athens, arriving finally in Venice in 1759. He stayed in Italy until 1762. During that period, he attended classes at the University of Padua, which had become the center of education for all young Greeks at the time. It is at this time that he was ordained a deacon. At Padua he was introduced to natural philosophy, mathematics and physics. In 1765 he was hired by the prince of Moldavia, Grigorios Ghikas (*Rom.* Grigore Ghica) III, to promote his program of educational reform and appointed teacher of philosophy and headmaster at the newly established academy in Iași. There, his innovative teaching on modern philosophy, inspired by John Locke, turned into a struggle against superstition. With his ideas and example he invited his audience to join a ‘cultural revolution.’ This, however,

brought him into conflict with the traditional order, and in 1766 he resigned and withdrew from public life. In 1776–77 he resumed teaching at the same institution, whereupon the attacks against him were reiterated. This led him this time to withdraw to Braşov (*Hun.* Brassó, *Ger.* Kronstadt) in Transylvania, the center for a network of merchants who appreciated scientific knowledge and were prepared to support his efforts. His time spent there (1777 to 1781) was the most productive period of his life. Nevertheless, the hardships he went through during these years would compel him to moderate his criticism and achieve a compromise with the Phanariot circles, which subsequently allowed him to return to Wallachia. There he became the resident tutor of the princes (*beizades*), the sons of Alexandros Mavrocordatos. Later on, in his ‘Physiological notes,’ he even resorted to archaism, a shift similar to that of the other prominent scholarly figure of the period, **Dimitrios Katartzis**. Due to the paucity of bibliographical information, Moisioudax is considered one of the most enigmatic figures in Greek letters. However, through indirect references we can assume that his impact was significant. It has been suggested that ‘Florilegium of Physics for sagacious and studious Greeks’ by **Rigas** and ‘Novel geography’ by **Daniil Philippidis** and **Grigorios Constantas** were written under his intellectual influence. However, his work remained largely unknown until the 1980s, when he was rediscovered.

Main Works: Translation: *Ἠθικὴ Φιλοσοφία* [Moral philosophy, by Muratori] (1761, 1762); *Παιδαγωγία* [Pedagogy] (1779); *Πρὸς Νικοκλέα* [To Nikokles] (1779); *Ἀπολογία* [Apology] (1780); *Θεωρία τῆς Γεωγραφίας* [Theory of geography] (1781); *Σημειώσεις Φυσιολογικαί* [Physiological notes] (1784).

Context

During the eighteenth century a common aspiration for Greek Orthodox youths who wished to receive a Western education was to travel to Italy. However, for those from a modest background who could not afford the required outlay the only option often seemed to be to enter the clergy, a recognized profession that provided freedom to travel and access to Orthodox religious literature, especially at major monastic centers such as Mount Athos and Patmos. Interestingly, the trajectories of the Orthodox clergy contributed to cultural innovation among the Balkan peoples since such travels, replacing traditional pilgrimage, opened to these Orthodox monks a ‘window on the world.’ In this way they soon realized the gap between their country and the West. The ensuing resentment culminated in an ideological conflict. Scholars have suggested that this set the preconditions for the transition from religious-traditional to modern-secular education in the Balkan societies. However, this was still a period when literati typically lived under ‘enlightened despotism’; thus, far from advocating radical social change, they mostly longed for reform projects that would be supported by rulers who were inspired by Enlightenment ideas.

It is within this atmosphere that Moisiiodax produced his work and pursued his career as an educator. He was clearly influenced by his teacher, Evgenios Voulgaris, who had sought to introduce secular subjects and rationalism into ecclesiastical education. However, Voulgaris was criticized by his student for being “always careful not to come into conflict” and thus not daring to fully challenge tradition. In Moisiiodax’s view, education should not be isolated from contemporary society but should respond to collective needs. His first work, a translation of Ludovico Muratori’s ‘Moral philosophy,’ is a clear indication of his concerns about the needs of Greek education and society. He believed that social regeneration necessitated a new attitude towards life and an understanding of human nature that could provide a safe guidance for moral behavior. Furthermore, not only individual change but also social transformation was necessary. With the optimism characteristic of the Enlightenment, he held that modern Greek culture should rely on ‘sound philosophy,’ “the philosophy which promotes the true happiness that mankind can enjoy upon the earth.” The work of Muratori, a reformist spirit and exponent of ‘enlightened Catholicism,’ fit his purpose. Orthodox merchants in Central Europe and the Balkans, and especially those from Moschopolis (*Alb.* Voskopojë, present-day Albania), an important center in northern Epirus (today’s southern Albania), supported his project. It is not a coincidence that another scholar from that town, Daniil, also of Vlach origin, published his *Εἰσαγωγικὴ Διδασκαλία* (Introductory instruction) there in 1762, a work in which he called on the non-Greek-speaking groups to Hellenize themselves.

His support, in the introduction to ‘Moral philosophy,’ of the Moderns against the ancients, a debate which had been dominant in Western scholarly circles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, aroused the enmity of traditional circles. The conflict broke out in a dispute with a learned clergyman whose name remains unknown, who vindicated the Aristotelian natural philosophy and accused Moisiiodax of holding pro-Catholic religious views. In response, Moisiiodax felt obliged to “defend both the Philosophy of the Moderns and my own innocence.” Thereupon he started writing the series of pamphlets which would constitute the body of the volume he was to publish under the title ‘Apology’ in 1781. In the first part of the pamphlet, Moisiiodax discusses the quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. In the second part, he elaborates on the broader consequences that such a quarrel could have beyond the scholarly level. He praises modern civilization and the technological achievements of the Moderns. In his view, the enmity of the traditionally minded Aristotelians was due to their ignorance and self-interest since they were trying to exercise ideological control over society. All in all, he fully

shares the admiration for the developments in 'Europe,' whereas he declares that 'Greece' is lagging behind in every respect. Apart from the obvious radical step of confessing the inferiority of indigenous education and culture *vis-à-vis* a different society, the use of the terms 'Greece' and 'Europe' is noteworthy, for two reasons. Firstly, Moisioudax conceptualizes two geographical entities, which at that time had just started to emerge symbolically. Secondly, he refers to 'Europe' in positive terms, whereas his contemporaries would contemptuously refer to the 'Franks.'

After he repeated his lectures at the academy of Iași, the attacks resumed. References to specific points in his teaching were used in order to support accusations of pro-Catholic sentiments, the last step before condemnation for atheism. His lectures were declared to be at a 'grocery-store' level, suitable for keeping accounts but alien to the proper content of higher education as provided by Aristotelian philosophy. Another accusation against him regarded the language he utilized, since Moisioudax was one of the first who aspired to establish the vernacular as the language of education. However, whereas the writings of **Katartzis**, the other important supporter of the vernacular during this period, remained unpublished, Moisioudax dared to proclaim his ideas *ex cathedra*. Moreover, since Moisioudax was not of Greek ethnic origin, he was accused of advocating the vernacular simply because he did not understand ancient Greek. His second departure from the academy, it has been argued in modern scholarship, marked the limits of the vision of a new 'secular humanism' in the Balkans. His evolution between 'Moral philosophy' and 'Apology,' however, and his enthusiasm for epistemological empiricism should not blind us to the fact that he remained within the framework of Christian rationalism.

In the texts presented here the men who arrive from Europe are called 'defiant' (*akatastatoi*), that is, they rise in revolt, as a result of the new modes of thought they have adopted in the West and the fact that they do not have a place (*katastasi*) in the social hierarchy. This compels them to aspire to become 'public figures,' rejecting religious submission. Therefore, since they threaten the social order they appear as a sign of social pathology. The 'Apology' opened a debate in which many contemporary figures would participate by commenting on it according to their individual stance. Since Panagiotis Kodrikas, the secretary of Prince Mikhail Soutsos (*Rom. Șuțu*), had initially supported Moisioudax but later denounced him, the latter's work was used as material in the notorious conflicts between **Korais** and Kodrikas, especially regarding language. However, despite the vivid impact it made when it was published, the text as well as its author was later forgotten, and it

was only in 1976 that it was republished, accompanied by an authoritative introduction by Alkis Aggelou, as part of the republication of important texts of the Enlightenment. Finally in the early 1990s, through the biography provided by Paschalis Kitromilides, Moisioudax's work was placed within a broader Balkan perspective.

VK

The first text of the lecture on geography

[...] It has prevailed, among all of our own, and it is commonly held that educated men, and especially those who come from the academies of Europe, are defiant. How can an educated man not be defiant when he is undeservingly despised? His many hardships, the dangers he has suffered either at sea or on land, the awareness of his ability, and finally, the end at which he has been aiming and for which he has suffered all that he has suffered, that is to say, loss of honor, reputation, all these things force him not to tolerate dishonor. Our notables ask that educated men be forbearing to others, just like the Apostles, just like the Martyrs themselves, nor do they neglect to offer them examples of the forbearance of the Apostles or the Martyrs, while they themselves do not abide even for their puppies to be dishonored. Educated men aspire to be public figures; their profession is not one of apostolic or martyrly forbearance; therefore they willingly accept positions and enter into professions where they are treated with respect, where they are honored according to their situation. This is how the European nations behave towards their educated men, and that is why they [these nations] offer them nobility, wisdom, and any other good thing that befits their intellectual cultivation. How can a philosopher not be defiant when he sees young donkeys saddled on one side with five [grammatical] cases and on the other with five conjugations being preferred to him, or [when he sees] flatterers, jesters, slavish and repugnant little men being preferred to him? The lords are wont to forgive grave faults in tailors, cobblers, and other manual workers, simply giving way to each one's special talent; but if an educated man happens to have a peculiarity, however harmless, curable, or bearable it may be, these [lords] will pour all manner of disparagement on him. Difficult, hypochondriac, and defiant are the most tolerable among the adjectives they will bestow on him. One need not say much. There is no more difficult and more necessary profession for us than erudition; and at the same time there is no profession more despised than that of erudition. How can young people take on those numerous, those vast struggles, without which we cannot acquire erudition,

when they see before them so many deterrent examples and cannot expect a wage equal to their labors? Everyone admits that erudition is a thing which is necessary for us and at the same time everyone, as if by an almost agreed upon antagonism, despises it. The clergyman, the lord, the merchant—one finding that it has little in common with his situation, the other finding it redundant, the other finding it useless: they all talk about how good it is, self-evident though that may be, and then they all act against its good. In this, we are like the Athenians who were all unanimously asking for war against Philip, but who would all then, lords, citizens and demagogues,¹ for one reason or the other, put up obstacles or engage in war fruitlessly. [...]

Treatise, or the apology against the clergyman

[...] I shall move on to another matter. Your Reverence² calls me a friend of all things Catholic³, and why is that, Your Reverence? Because, as you say, in my preface to *Moral Philosophy* I praise the Europeans and criticize our own, and because, comparing the two, I have said that it is not so easy to defeat the Catholics in issues of Theology, as we think. Here is my answer. I had never hoped, Your Reverence, that Your Mediocrity would impugn others with such vanity, that is to say, to seek to improve your reputation from within the very ruins of the reputation of your neighbor. The character, age and personal virtue of Your Mediocrity, all these things have as a result that everybody accepts and honors you. In any event, my defamation is of no use to you, therefore Your Reverence can be content with that [honor] which is duly attributed and belongs to you. And, finally, why such avarice? But it is not my sense of honor (you retort), it is the fervor for Orthodoxy that drives me against you. We shall see, Reverent Sir, if this fervor is truly fervor. When I praise the Europeans, I am not only praising the Catholics, but also the Cal-

¹ The term denotes public speakers in the ancient Athenian democracy. The term later acquired negative connotations, since these individuals were considered responsible for deceiving the masses.

² Moisioudax does not reveal the name of the person but he does inform us that he is an official in charge of the secret correspondence of the principality, the equivalent of *sécretaire d'Etat* in Europe.

³ The term used is actually 'Latins.' For the Orthodox clergy, this term always referred to the Catholics in particular, not to all Europeans. Moreover, occasionally high-ranking Orthodox clergy were positively disposed towards the Protestants, to the extent that they shared an enmity against Catholicism.

vinists, the Lutherans, the Baptists, the Socinians⁴, the Orthodox, and so on and so forth. If then it is true that whosoever praises the Europeans is a friend of all things Catholic, why should it not be true that he is a friend of all things Lutheran, all things Orthodox, and so on and so forth? But why (you retort) do you accuse our own so much? An unfair question; indeed, it is an obvious calumny. I do not accuse our own, but I pity them, wishing that they change for the better, and in my fervor for the glory of Greece I speak forthrightly about the superstition prevalent in educational systems which, like worms lying concealed, wither her bountiful crop. Or can Your Reverence tell me what enlightenment has Greece received or is at present receiving from all these Korydaleic⁵ schools which it maintains in Constantinople, in Jannina, and in many other places? Where are the mathematicians, if one excludes the revered Balanos? Where are the physicists? Where are the authors of the other professions? But what enlightenment, what authors can possibly emerge from the two or five or eight interpretations of the terms of the Peripatetics?⁶ No, Your Reverence, I am not a flatterer of Greece who will abet her superstitions; I am a friend, and what I advise her is in her interest, and I do so sincerely and openly. And truly I would be an unworthy devotee of Philosophy if, remembering and seeing the golden age of youth being plagued by the ramblings of Grammar or the drivel of Korydaleus, I remained silent. Or how could Your Reverence not be reprehensible if, having a friend who was suffering from a vile passion and hoping to cure him by making public this passion, then, instead of making it public, proceeded to conceal it? Old failings are never cured by being concealed but by being revealed and controlled. This is what I wished to do in that preface. Yes, Your Reverence, nor do I hesitate to say that Greece needs Europe, because while Greece lacks everything, Europe has everything in abundance. How many Philosophical, Theological, Historical or other kinds of systems of erudition exist among us that we do not need Europe? But what am I talking about—Philosophy or Theology? The truth is that we do not even have comprehensive dictionaries,

⁴ Anti-Trinitarian religious movement founded by Fausto Sozzini (*Lat.* Socinus), striving to reconcile Christianity with Humanism. It reached prominence in Poland in the sixteenth-century, but became an object of severe persecution in the mid-seventeenth-century. Some of its members settled down in the Netherlands, enjoying a degree of tolerance.

⁵ Following the teaching of the famous teacher Korydaleus (see biographical notes).

⁶ From the Greek word *περίπατος* (walk). The school of Aristotle, whose students were supposed to walk as they participated in courses and discussions.

while the grammar books of which we boast we have not faithfully learned—and why is that? Because we seek merely to learn by rote, according to the way the words are put together. But when it comes to writing style, to Longinus,⁷ to Phalereus,⁸ to the arts of Dionysus of Halicarnassus,⁹ we never hear of them in the schools, nor have we any hope of hearing of them if we are not helped by the Europeans. That is what I said then, Reverent Sir, and I am saying nothing less now, not criticizing and not gloating over the present fate of Greece, but inspired by zeal for the true enlightenment of the Greeks and longing for the return of the Muses to their home on Mount Helicon. Where then is this firm foundation of zeal which has burned and which continues to burn with such fire against me? [...]

Translated by Mary Kitroeff

⁷ Longinus (c. 213–273 AD), Greek rhetorician and philosopher.

⁸ Demetrius Phalereus (died approximately in 280 BC), Athenian orator.

⁹ Dionysus of Halicarnassus (late first century BC), Greek historian and teacher of rhetorics.

DANIIL PHILIPPIDIS AND GRIGORIOS CONSTANTAS: NOVEL GEOGRAPHY

Title: *Γεωγραφία Νεωτερική, Τόμος πρώτος περιέχων τήν Ευρωπαϊκήν Τουρκία, Ιταλία, Σπάνια, Πορτογαλλία καί Φράντζα* (Novel geography. First volume, containing European Turkey, Italy, Spain, Portugal and France)

Originally published: Vienna, Θωμάς Τράττνερν (Johann Thomas Trattner), 1791

Language: Greek

The excerpts used are from “Περί της Ἑλλάδος,” in Aikaterini Koumarianou, ed., *Δανιήλ Φιλιππίδη – Γρηγορίου Κωνσταντᾶ, Γεωγραφία Νεωτερική* (Athens: Ερμής, 2000), pp. 108, 109, 115, 116, 118.

About the authors

Daniil (Dimitrios) Philippidis [1755, Pilio (Thessaly) – 1832, Bălți (Bessarabia, Russian Empire, present-day Republic of Moldavia)]: clergyman and scholar. The son of a well-off family, he received his schooling in his hometown. When he was twenty years old, he was ordained a monk at Mount Athos and changed his secular name Dimitrios to Daniil. He attended courses at Mount Athos and at the school of Saint Minas in Chios, before leaving for Bucharest and Iași. There, after working as an apprentice to Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis, one of the leading scholars of his time, he became involved in teaching. In 1788, eager to come into contact with Western ideas, Philippidis made his way to Vienna, where he became acquainted with Anthimos Gazis, an important scholar of the period and publisher of the first Greek literary journal *Λόγιος Ἑρμῆς* (Scholarly Hermes). He then moved to Paris, where he witnessed the outbreak of the French Revolution. Returning from Western Europe in 1794, he spent some time in Thessaly and Constantinople (Istanbul), before moving to Iași. He devoted the rest of his life mostly to writing, though he also taught for a short period between 1803 and 1807. In 1816 he published the ‘Historical account of Romania’ and the ‘Geographical account of Romania,’ which are considered to be the first texts that refer specifically to the territory of present-day Romania. In 1819 he joined the *Philiki Etairia*, a secret revolutionary organization which contributed to the coming of the Greek War of Independence, but he remained in Iași during the war. In 1830 he moved to Bălți, where he died two years later. Having acquired significant knowledge of Western intellectual trends, Philippidis wished to communicate it to his compatriots. He fought against neo-Aristotelian philosophy, the dominant tradition in Orthodox culture. However, with respect to the language question in

particular, he also rejected the linguistic ‘middle way’ proposed by **Adamantios Korais**, the most prominent advocate of a secular cultural regeneration, on the grounds that it was an arbitrary intervention.

Main Works: *Γεωγραφία Νεωτερική* [Novel geography] (1791); *Ίστορία τῆς Ρουμανίας ἢ ἐκθεσις τῶν ἀξιολογωτέρων μνημονευομένων συμβάντων ἐν τοῖς ἁριστέροις κάτω παριστρίοις, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσβολῆς τῶν αἰγυπτίων μέχρι τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ρουμανικῶν ἀρχηγεμονιῶν τοῦ Ρουμανικοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ τῆς Μολδόβης* [Historical account of Romania, or a report of the most notable recorded events in the lower left Danubian regions, from the invasion of the Egyptians to the establishment of the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldova] (1816); *Γεωγραφικὸν τῆς Ρουμανίας ἐς ἀκριβεστέραν καὶ πληρεστέραν κατὰληψιν τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῆς* [Geographical account of Romania for a more precise and full comprehension of her history] (1816). He also produced translations: *Ἡ Λογική, ἢ αἱ πρῶται ἀναπτύξεις τῆς τέχνης τοῦ στοχάζεσθαι* [Logic, or the first developments of the art of thinking, by Étienne Bonnot de Condillac] (1801); *Ἐπιτομή Ἀστρονομίας* [Astronomic Epitomes, by Jérôme Lalande] (1803); *Ἐπιτομή τῶν Φιλιππικῶν τοῦ Πομπήιου Τρόγου* [Pompeius Trogus’ Epitome of Philippic History] (1817); *Φλώρου ἐπιτομή τῶν Ρωμαϊκῶν* [Florus’ Epitome of Roman History] (1818).

Grigorios Constantas [1758 Milies (Thessaly) – 1844, Milies (Thessaly)]: clergyman and scholar. He received his schooling in his hometown. When he was twenty years old, he traveled to Mount Athos, Chios and Constantinople (Istanbul), where he attended courses in ecclesiastical schools. In 1780 he settled in Bucharest, where he started teaching in 1784. Three years later he left for Vienna where, in 1791, together with Daniil Philippidis, he published the ‘Novel geography.’ After a short stay in Padua and Halle for studies, he returned in 1794 to his hometown. A year later he started teaching in Ambelakia, the commercial center and the most important town in the region of Thessaly. In 1804–05 he spent a further two years in Vienna, Venice, and Trieste. Between 1809 and 1812 he lived in Constantinople. In the meantime, he rejected offers to teach in Iași, or to take over as the head of the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople. When his teacher, Anthimos, passed away, leaving Constantas as his successor at the local school in Milies, he returned to his hometown, where he worked as a teacher until 1821. There, together with his compatriot and prominent scholar, Anthimos Gazis, they set up a new school. Constantas ran the school while Gazis, provided books and material from Vienna. During the Greek War of Independence, Constantas was appointed to various positions in the field of education. In 1829 he was appointed, both deputy in the fourth National Assembly, and a member of the administrative council of the Orphanage in the island of Aegina, one of the most important educational institutions of the new state, where he worked until 1833. With the arrival of the Bavarian Prince Otto, Constantas was marginalized and, in 1835, he returned to his hometown, where he continued to teach until his death.

Main Works: *Γεωγραφία Νεωτερική* [Novel geography] (1791). In addition, he composed translations: *Στοιχεῖα τῆς Λογικῆς, Μεταφυσικῆς καὶ Ἠθικῆς, ὑπὸ Φραγκίσκου Σοανῶν* [Elements of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics, by Francesco Soave] (1804), *Στοιχεῖα τῆς γενικῆς ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς τε καὶ νεωτέρας ὑπὸ Ἀββᾶ Μιλλιότ* [Elements of general history, ancient and modern, by Abbé Millot] (1806). He also edited the anonymous work attributed to Nicolaos Mavrocordatos, *Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα* [The Parerga of Philotheos] (1801).

Context

From the sixteenth century onwards, Moldavia and Wallachia were under Ottoman suzerainty, having retained the status of autonomous principalities. However, starting from the early-eighteenth century and as a result of their increasing influence in Istanbul, the office of *hospodar* (prince) was offered to members of Greek Orthodox Phanariot families, thus depriving the local boyar elites of the political power they previously enjoyed. Although the Phanariot rule caused considerable resentment due to its inefficiency and venality, it catalyzed contacts between the Danubian Principalities and the West, and young people coming to Iași and Bucharest were provided with an opportunity to familiarize themselves with Western ideas (see **Dimitrios Katartzis**, *Advice to the youth*). Attendance at the courts of the Phanariot princes also made it easier for them to visit the leading cultural centers of Central and Western Europe. This environment had a special attraction for ambitious and educated young Orthodox Greeks from all over the Ottoman Empire, who sought to pursue a successful career while at the same time contributing to the ‘awakening’ of their nation. Disenchanted with the precarious social conditions in their homelands and having already received a primary education in one of the few prosperous towns in the region, they followed the commercial roads used by merchants who traveled from the southern Balkans westward to Trieste and Vienna, or northward to Iași and Bucharest. There, they continued their studies, served as secretaries to these merchants or were employed by the princes themselves. Thus, over the course of time they came to form a Greek-speaking Balkan diaspora, which would play a prominent role in the diffusion and proliferation both of new social concepts and of nationalist ideology and thus fertilize the discontent of their compatriots towards their Ottoman rulers.

It was within this context that the treatise ‘Novel geography’ appeared. The book aimed at introducing contemporary ideas regarding both human geography and the organization of the society that had developed in the West during the eighteenth century. Among the sources used, even if not explicitly cited, by the authors, the most essential are considered to be the *Géographie Moderne* by Nicolle de La Croix (1704–1760) and the *Géographie Ancienne* and *Géographie Moderne* in Panckouke’s *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (1775–1800), a continuation of the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D’Alembert. In pursuing their goal, the authors sought to detach themselves from the established tradition of Orthodoxy that was marked by scepticism towards the West, and to suggest a course not of slavish imita-

tion but of interaction. Moreover, they responded, in their view, to the need to define and thus appropriate the geographical area where the Hellenic element used to dominate in the past. In this sense, their views represent the perspective of an elite group, which expected that this intellectual appropriation would soon lead to political emancipation as well. However, their intention was not only to define the Greek lands by reference to historical records and to reinforce historical memory, but also to describe current social developments in the broader region of the Mediterranean and the Balkans. The authors thus were intent on investigating the relation between a population and its environment.

In the part of 'Novel geography' referring to Greece, the authors provide a description of the Greek lands. On the whole, they claim, the Greek lands are located in a very privileged region, at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa. This would normally suggest that the natives should be prosperous. However, this is not the case, as the existing administration is incapable of reinforcing a 'rule of law,' and thus no economic activity can flourish. As the 'king of the Turks' is not interested in imposing such a regime, many Greeks are impelled to seek protection outside his realm and pursue commerce in foreign lands. At the same time, the Greeks who have not abandoned their homelands are dispersed and have no contact with each other. Suffering under the most terrible 'yoke,' they have no schools and receive no education, and until this is abolished, no development should be expected. Finally, the authors elaborate on the terms *Hellene*, *Roman* and *Greek*, though on different lines than their teacher, **Dimitrios Katartzis**. In their view, the terminological distinction between Romans (*Romei*; the term attributed to the Christian population of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires by both imperial authorities), and Greeks (*Greki*; the term attributed to the same population by the Westerners), does not eliminate the fact that, although dispersed in time and in space, these populations constituted the nation of the Hellenes—*Ellines*. Therefore, in order to describe Greeks and Greece, they use the terms *Ellines* and *Ellada*.

Western intellectual circles, especially in France, welcomed the book with enthusiasm. Jean-Baptiste d'Anse de Villoison, professor of Modern Greek in the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, used it as a textbook for his students. Travelers who published accounts after the turn of the nineteenth century frequently cite the text. Figures such as François Charles Pouqueville, William Martin Leake, Henry Holland and even Lord Byron referred to the book and used it as a source of information.

Surprisingly, within Greek intellectual circles the text was relatively neglected. **Katartzis** referred to it in negative terms, and **Korais** was rather sceptical with respect to its choice of language. However, Constantinos Koumas, the first well-known Modern Greek historian, and, like the authors, a native of Thessaly, praised the work, especially for its use of the vernacular, in an article he wrote in 'Scholarly Hermes.' In Greece, 'Novel geography' was never used either as a school textbook or as an academic work. However, it paved the way for a number of similar geographical accounts: in the nineteenth century, a new generation of geographers set out to describe and, thus, to 'discover' the Greek territories.

The impact the text had on other regions of the Balkans was equally significant. The two authors had presented the different nationalities with the purpose of depicting their distinctive features. As a result, Bulgarian writers of geography textbooks even in the mid-nineteenth century used 'Novel geography' as a model. This indicates that the Greek text, which had been largely neglected in its native milieu, enjoyed a measure of popularity elsewhere in the Balkans. The most recent edition of the text is preceded by Aikaterini Koumarianou's authoritative introduction, which has largely shaped contemporary reception.

VK

Novel geography

[...] The name of Greece, then, could certainly have been given to the whole of Asia Minor, the peninsula of the Taurus Mountains, [and] lower Egypt; because in all those places the inhabitants were almost [all] Greeks.

However, things have now changed, and those who could have been the first nation in the World, have been plunged, by their quarrelsome character, into a wretched state; it [their quarrelsome character] has contracted them into a very tight circle, and almost nothing is left to them of their traditions, except for their quarrelsome character, which is their main feature everywhere.

In Africa there is no longer any place where they can be called natives, similarly in Syria, similarly in Italy, [while] in Asia Minor they exist only in Cappadocia, and along its coastline; in other places in Asia Minor and Syria, even though there are quite a few who preserve their traditional religion, their language has been stifled by Arabic and Turkish. In the peninsula of the Tau-

rus Mountains there still exist quite a few Greek inhabitants, whom the Russians displaced to the shores of Lake Maeotis.¹

Because the Greeks lived in lands divided by natural boundaries, they divided Greece into Main Greece, Great Greece and Asian Greece.² Main Greece included the southern part of Thessaly, to which was added [the rest of] Thessaly, Epirus, Illyria, Macedonia and the islands which lie before them.

[...] Under the Turks, the modern Greeks would have been very happy on account of many good things which are lacking elsewhere, and, living in such a temperate climate, in such blessed lands, if only two things were missing, one of which is common to both peoples, and the other only [to be found] in the rulers; if, I say, the hatred which the Greeks have for the religion of the Turks, and the Turks have for that of the Greeks was missing. Ignorance is a cause of this too; each man must answer to God for his works and his beliefs; people must love each other like brothers, and at no time should differences in belief become the cause of enmity; the things which concern God must be left to Him, and we should only care about the things which concern ourselves; and we should feel hatred for those who harm civil society, show mercy and reason to those who have been deceived, and the love which we owe to each one for the sake of humanity.

[...] The other thing which is peculiar to the rulers is despotic government, which extends throughout the great dominion of the Turks, and causes great harm to the Kingdom, and separately to each individual, to the Turks, the Greeks and all its inhabitants. The former [i.e. the Turkish ruler], slaying, drowning, hanging, with his will as the only law, sets an example to his chief minister, and he to the next man, and so on down to the least thing. All, then, in Turkey fear for their life and their property, and most of all the rich, and many get up and go and settle in neighboring lands, there where the laws are sovereign and so, in consequence, are the rights of life and property, and they continually sigh, recalling the beautiful and blessed climes of their homeland. In the Austrian Empire there are over 80 thousand families of Greeks from Turkey, and many too in Wallachia and Moldavia, and also in Russia, Italy and Poland. Oh, what a kingdom Turkey could be! How awesome on the out-

¹ The Sea of Azov, northeast of the Crimean peninsula.

² The term Great Greece (*Magna Graecia*) refers to southern Italy and more specifically to Calabria and Apulia, where still nowadays the inhabitants of certain villages use a particular idiom, a mixture of Greek and Italian. The term Asian Greece refers to Asia Minor, today's Anatolia.

side, how blessed internally, if only it were governed well. The first element—the soul, I might say, of a society—is its laws, without which it tends to utter destruction; good laws, which rule a man's life, his possessions, his honor, his freedom and which punish him who would lay hands on them, whoever he may be, as a corrupter of civil society. But Albanians, as much in time of peace as in time of war, move about under military banners and destroy villages, burn homes, enslave... but why should I recount these things which are known to all?

[...] The location of Greece, which is between the rest of Europe, Asia and Africa, and thus, I might say, in the centre of the old World; its accessibility to different nations of the Mediterranean and through the large navigable rivers which flow into it; its many fine harbours; its fertility; the various products which the neighbors of the Empire need to import, and Greece needs to export; the abundance of wood for building ships; the commercial aptitude of the ancient Greeks, admired by the Europeans, who themselves admit that they have yet to acquire it, and which still exists in their [the ancient Greeks'] luckless descendants; all these things and many others could make commerce flourish there more than in any other part of the world; and yet, both on the shores and in the Mediterranean Sea, nothing is as it could be. It is almost dead. And what level of commerce can one ask for in a land where the sea is teeming with pirates, the land is full of *klefts*³ and robbers? Almost all the roads are suspect and dangerous, which is why merchants gather in caravans to go to fairs and from one town to the next. Add to this the lack of care for the roads, and for the rivers in order to make them navigable. Add also the biggest [ill], the lack of good government. The modern Greeks and the other nations subject to the Turks, who devote themselves to commerce, suffer a thousand vexations from the Turks who have the customs houses, and it is not uncommon to see a wretched Turk ill-treating a useful merchant. But these things are known. What use is it for me to say them?

Translated by Mary Kitroeff

³ From the Greek word *κλέφτης* (thief), a term denoting bandits who challenged the Ottoman authorities and thus, eventually, in the popular imagination, came to be depicted as national heroes.

JOHANN PEZZL: SKETCH OF VIENNA

Title: *Skizze von Wien* (Sketch of Vienna)

Originally published: Vienna, Kraus, 1786–1790

Language: German

Excerpts used are from Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, *Mozart and Vienna. Including selections from Johann Pezzl's "Sketch of Vienna" 1786–90* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), pp. 128–129.

About the author

Johann Pezzl [1756 Mallersdorf (Bavaria) – 1823 Oberdöbling (near Vienna)]: topographer and civil servant. His father was a warden at the monastery in Mallersdorf. Between 1768 and 1775, he was a pupil of the Benedictine Lyceum in Freising. In 1776 he registered at the Faculty of Law in Salzburg, where he studied until 1780. In 1777 he met and became a friend of Johann Kaspar Riesbeck (1754–1786), author of *Travels through Germany, in a series of letters* (translated into English in 1812). In 1780 Pezzl published the first volume of 'Letters from the Novitiate.' In the same year he moved to Zürich, where he published the second and the third volumes of these autobiographical letters. In 1784 he returned to Vienna, where he earned his living as a freelance writer. He also became a member of the Freemason Lodge, 'Zur Wohltätigkeit' (To Charity). In 1785 he became the librarian of Prince Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz (1711–1794), the Austrian State-Chancellor, a position that enabled him to establish contacts with prominent Austrian intellectuals of the Josephist establishment. Between 1786 and 1790 he published *Skizze von Wien*. In 1791 Pezzl entered a secret governmental intelligence service, known as the 'Chiffre-Kanzlei' (Code Chancellery), where he worked until his retirement in 1820. The Josephist establishment valued Pezzl's works, and in the nineteenth century he was often described as the 'Austrian Voltaire,' praised for his encyclopaedism and enlightened ideas. Although general works dealing with the European Enlightenment tend to neglect Pezzl's works, recent scholarship on the Austrian Enlightenment has acknowledged his valuable contribution to the dissemination of enlightened ideas.

Main Works: *Briefe aus dem Noviziat* [Letters from the Novitiate] (1780–1783); *Faustin oder das philosophische Jahrhundert* [Faustin, or the philosophical century] (1783); *Vertraute Briefe über Katholiken und Protestanten* [Confidential letters about Catholics and Protestants] (1787); *Abdul Erzerum's neue persönliche Briefe* [Abdul

Erzerum's new personal letters] (1787); *Skizze von Wien* [Sketch of Vienna] (1786–1789); *Denkmal auf M. Stoll* [Monument to M. Stoll] (1788); *Ulrich von Unkenbach und seine Steckenpferde* [Ulrich von Unkenbach and his hobby-horses] (1800/1802).

Context

The age of Enlightenment in the Habsburg Empire generated conflicting interpretations in the nineteenth century. Historians associated with Catholic conservatism viewed the Josephist period as a caesura in the development of the Austrian historic tradition, while historians belonging to the anti-clerical/liberal nationalist camp assigned Austrian literary productions of the end of the eighteenth century to the 'Greater-German' national tradition. Significantly, neither of these historiographic schools conceded any originality to the Austrian Enlightenment. Austrian writers were, at best, seen as imitators of German authors such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) or Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813). Undoubtedly, literary and political ideas developed in Protestant and Catholic German states since the mid-eighteenth century significantly influenced the development of various enlightened conceptions of society and state in Austria. However, the content and the message of the majority of literary and political works produced in Austria during this period were influenced by local realities, and thus can be considered as Austrian adaptations of the main tenets of Enlightenment thinking.

The reign of Joseph II (r. 1780–1790) coincided with the period when many ideas of the Enlightenment were introduced in Austria 'from above.' The monarch himself launched a substantial program of reform which partly continued the reformist policies initiated by his mother, Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740–1780), but overtly reflected his intention to adapt the internal structures of the monarchy to what he perceived to be the ideal absolutist state. Education, administration, religion, censorship, and the legal system were some of the major domains affected by Joseph II's reforms. Initially, Austrian intellectuals supported the Emperor's policies, which they viewed as coterminous with their social and cultural program. In 1781 Joseph II inaugurated his legislative program with a new edict on censorship, which resonated particularly favorably with public opinion. The remarkable growth of the number of publications illustrated the existence of a literary market sustained by a growing reading public. This phenomenon is known in Austrian history as the *Broschürenflut* ('Pamphlet-flood'). Most of the publications were small and inexpensive and they were written in a style accessible

even to readers with modest education. These pamphlets are the most characteristic products of the Austrian Enlightenment.

At first, most of the writings were concerned with Joseph II's radical reforms of the church. Soon, however, the pamphleteers turned their attention to other issues, which eventually amounted to a criticism of the absolutist methods of government pursued by the Emperor. To many writers, absolute power and enlightened reform seemed irreconcilable. It was in this effervescent intellectual climate that some of these writers attempted to define the 'spirit of the age,' the '*Aufklärung*.' Johann Pezzl provided one of the most interesting explanations of the term in his travel account of Vienna.

Travel literature was very popular in the eighteenth century. Travel implied something more than simply satisfying one's curiosity. A 'traveler' went to new and exotic places to gather information, both to improve his/her own mind and to educate the audience by narrating and cataloguing what he/she had observed. Travel literature provided abundant material for speculation about the nature of society and for theories of social and economic improvement. Moreover, the modern concept of civilization, which emerged in the middle of the eighteenth century, was directly shaped by the experience of the traveler.

Skizze von Wien, published between 1786 and 1790, is the first example of Austrian travel literature during the Enlightenment. Describing a wide range of subjects—the climate, the living conditions, the leisure possibilities and the architectural diversity of the city—Pezzl fused the ancient literary genre of describing 'characters' (a tradition going back to the pupil of Aristotle, Theophrastus, which became immensely popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) with an analysis of civilization. Interestingly, it is not the most remote parts of the empire, but the capital itself that Pezzl considered as the epitome of exoticism, ethnic diversity, and the amalgamation of customs. In many respects, the book is also one of the first attempts to understand the ethnic composition of and the various traditions associated with the populations of the Empire. Moreover, the book offers information about Vienna's uniqueness, both as an urban center and as a geographical location.

Pezzl devoted one chapter to the topic of *Aufklärung*. Two themes characterized his definition of the Enlightenment. First, he criticized the tendency, prevalent at the time, which viewed the Enlightenment as merely an anti-religious movement. Secondly, Pezzl endeavored to explicate the term 'Enlightenment,' by illustrating its applicability to Viennese realities. In his description of the 'enlightened man', Pezzl was influenced by contemporary

German debates over the meaning of the term. In Protestant Germany, for example, Pietist-inspired individuality was a crucial ingredient for the creation of an enlightened polity, while the Catholic debates on the Enlightenment emphasized social and legal reform by the state. Pezzl favored a different view. His definition combined the ideas of such diverse authors as Wieland, who used the term *Aufklärung* to denote the spread of knowledge and a rational and universal concept of progress, and the pedagogue Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723–1790), for whom *Aufklärung* was the gradual moral edification of the people. For Pezzl, the Enlightenment was first and foremost a moral process. By undergoing such a process the individual should be able to avoid falling prey to prejudices and, at the same time, be prepared to accept new ideas. The Viennese, Pezzl remarked, had not yet reached the second stage of this process. Pezzl's criticism of Viennese mores was, however, constructive. There were, he accepted, signs that indicated that many Viennese were changing their mentality and embracing the moral liberation brought about by the Enlightenment.

Pezzl's text was praised by many of his contemporaries, including **Joseph Richter**, who wrote a favorable review. In the nineteenth century the book went through many editions and Pezzl was recognized as an important representative of the Austrian Enlightenment. *Skizze von Wien* is constantly invoked as a primary source for understanding the mores and social practices of Viennese society at the end of the eighteenth century.

MT

Sketch of Vienna

The nonsensical clamorings from all quarters during the last decade (more or less) concerning the word 'Enlightenment' have almost made the cause itself an object of general ridicule. This is the work of, and can be blamed on a large number of petty intellects, adolescent minds who, thanks to the current general intoxication with reading, have picked up some principles from great men but have not understood sufficiently or digested properly what they have read. [...]

Such infantile babblings must not, however, be allowed to deflect us from honoring and encouraging the real Enlightenment or from enlarging its horizons. It is true that the majority of the public, even of the educated sort, does not precisely understand the concept and limits of the term. Many people think that the sole and complete aim of the Enlightenment is to achieve a

thoroughly purged religion; and that to recognize the abuses of the Church, to rid ourselves of them, means to be enlightened.

I do not believe this to be the case. For me an enlightened man is one with a properly developed moral instinct, one who can derive satisfaction from an occupation which chance or the laws has given him, who acts correctly from conviction, who likes his work, who shows a love of order in his domestic and public life, who is moderate in his eating and drinking and looks after his health—and makes it a regular habit to do all these things; who is never tempted to live beyond his means; who strives constantly to improve those talents necessary to his destiny in society; who knows and practises the duties of a citizen, friend, husband and father; who realizes that in bourgeois society it is necessary, for the maintenance of the whole, to bear individual burdens and to sacrifice private advantages, and to tolerate these things without bitterness; who never unreasonably attacks the religion publicly supported by the state, and if he has acquired other convictions, keeps them to himself; and finally, who enjoys his existence and possesses the knowledge to enjoy a comfortable, long and quiet life.

[...] Although this is only the opinion of one man and certainly cannot be applied to the generality of a city, and especially a city like Vienna, it will not be difficult to accept that there are individuals present here whose lives actually correspond to this outline.

Anyone who wants to enlighten a whole nation or a wide public must take two major steps: the first is to rid oneself of old, unworthy and damaging prejudices; the other is to accept truths and principles which are new and beneficial to him and which encourage his spirit to self-understanding and reflection, and which accustom him to distinguishing appearance from reality, non-essentials from essentials.

From this standpoint one must admit that the Viennese, considered as a whole, are still only taking their first step. Only recently have they begun gradually to rid themselves of ancient prejudices in respect of religion, economics and domestic matters. Their whole-hearted attachment to monks, devotions, brotherhoods, pilgrimages, etc. has markedly lessened. Their partiality for everything foreign, even if only in name, has greatly decreased. [...] They no longer believe ostentatious extravagance to be praiseworthy. [...] These and other similar matters are indisputable regarding national enlightenment.

The adaptable nature of the Viennese assists them in throwing off more quickly and effectively stupid prejudices and bad habits. The monarch can attack superstitions, clerical and secular, and except for a few grumblers no

one objects. The Viennese differ from the Brandenburgers who, faced with a revised hymn-book, wrote the old words over the new and swamped the authorities with petitions. When the Emperor ordered much more sweeping reforms in the Catholic Church—the Latin *credo* or *oremus* have long been absent from the new liturgy here—no one objected; on the contrary, his reforms were readily accepted.

Translated by H. C. Robbins Landon

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STANISŁAW STASZIC: ON THE STATISTICS OF POLAND

Title: *O statystyce Polski krótki rzut wiadomości potrzebnych tym, którzy ten kraj chcą oswobodzić* (On the statistics of Poland – A briefing useful for those wishing to liberate this country)

Originally published: Warsaw, 1807; second edition, 1807; third, 1809

Language: Polish

The excerpts are taken from Stanisław Staszic, *Pisma filozoficzne i społeczne*, ed. Bogdan Suchodolski (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1954), vol. 2, pp. 285–300.

About the author

Stanisław Staszic [1755, Piła (Wielkopolska region) – 1826, Warsaw]: priest and political thinker. Staszic represents the circle of enlightened reformers of the days of the Great Diet (1788–1791, known also as the Four Years' Sejm). A Catholic priest of middle-class origins, he was influenced particularly by French culture (he translated Voltaire, Racine and G. L. de Buffon into Polish, and also studied at the Collège de France). As a political thinker he advocated the emancipation of the lower classes as an instrument of revitalizing the state (and not for reasons of morality). After the third partition of Poland in 1795, he concentrated his attention on philosophy, statistics and economics. Staszic worked for communal and state organs seeking to further the economic improvement of Poland. He was rather moderate in his political opinions and pragmatic in his politics, shifting his allegiances according to the changing international situation. After publishing 'On the statistics of Poland' and following the collapse of the Warsaw Duchy in 1813, he wrote an article advocating an alliance with Russia, *Myśli o równowadze politycznej w Europie* (Thoughts concerning the political balance in Europe). He was one of the founders of Warsaw University (1816) and the *Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk* (Society of the Friends of Science), and a pioneer in the study of geology, biology and mountaineering in the Carpathians (he was the first to survey Poland's mineral deposits). In the period of the Congress Kingdom (1815–1830), Staszic was entrusted with the position of Deputy Minister of Education, but was forced to resign in 1824 after the fall of the liberal minister Stanisław Kostka Potocki. Through his writings and public activities Staszic became one of the emblematic figures of the Polish Enlightenment. He was one of the pioneers in the Polish discourse on modernization; thus in historiography he is generally characterized as the founding father of Polish economics, and as a severe judge of Polish backwardness.

Main Works: *Uwagi nad życiem Jana Zamoyskiego* [Remarks on the biography of Jan Zamoyski] (1787); *Przestrogi dla Polski* [Warnings for Poland] (1790); *Dzieła* [Works] (1814–20); *Myśli o równowadze politycznej w Europie* [Thoughts concerning the political balance in Europe] (1815); *O ziemiorództwie Karpatów i innych gór i równin Polski* [On the riches of the Carpathians and other Polish mountains and plains] (1815); *Ród ludzki* [Mankind] (1819–1820).

Context

It did not take long after the third partition (1795) for Polish statehood to re-emerge, albeit in a new form. In 1807, after the unprecedented defeat of Prussia, Napoleon created the semi-independent though ephemeral Warsaw Duchy. The short period before this, between 1795 and 1807, had had a profound impact on Polish society and political thought. The inhabitants of the Prussian partition experienced the efficient bureaucratic system of an absolutist state, which was radically different from the old times of the Noble Republic. These changes were for good: they signalled the end of the feudal Polish state. But, contrary to the anxiety of the conservative gentry (see: *Targowica Confederation*), this did not mean the end of the Polish nation as such. In addition to the Legionaries of General Dąbrowski, who had already fought under Napoleon's command, the Polish population under Prussian rule supported the French army and organized the structures of a prospective new state.

Staszic's work was written for the authorities of the Warsaw Duchy, Napoleon's semi-independent ally. The statistical perspective seems to have been characteristic of the author's intellectual formation, but in this particular case it was also practically oriented. A good description of the new, re-established Polish state was considered invaluable for organizing it properly. Staszic's idea was to adapt the genre of *Statistik* (used in the sense of *Staatswissenschaft*, combining 'political economy' and 'political geography') to the territory of the pre-partition *Rzeczpospolita*. He considered the number of its inhabitants, the main rivers and the prospects of social and economical development under a strong ruler, whose political role he modelled after the precepts of enlightened absolutism. From a different angle, Staszic belongs to the first Polish thinkers who clearly realized the contrast between the territorial, economical and military potential of Poland and its political and social underdevelopment. His statistical speculations describe the picture of a would-be Poland, a well-governed, 'Western' country. Furthermore, Staszic focused on Polish-French relations and introduced the idea of a francophile Slavonic federation concen-

trated around the re-established Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, renewing the early modern *topos* of the 'Bulwark of Christendom.' Finally, he advocated various efforts to secure national values: a standardized language for the church, centralized government, and a standardized legal code. His declared goal was to gain for Poland a degree of autonomy within the French system comparable to Hungary's position *vis-à-vis* Austria.

Far from being a mere description, the text had a pronounced critical message. Along these lines, Staszic also analyzed the causes of the partitions. He blamed the Polish aristocracy for destroying the Commonwealth, and supported the idea of a strong monarchic government based on the bourgeoisie. His criticism of Polish feudalism made him a supporter of absolutism as a more efficient political structure than the archaic democracy of the *Rzeczpospolita*. He refused to see in the latter anything more than a feudal anachronism. Along these lines, Staszic formulated one of the most severe analyses of the Polish political tradition. In 1790, he remarked: "How far behind are we! And where are the other states! Elsewhere despotism starts to fall, whereas in Poland we still have the oligarchy of the *szlachta* [county gentry]. Poland is still in the fifteenth century. The whole of Europe closes the eighteenth!" In the political debates of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, Staszic advocated the emancipation of the lower classes from feudal obligations. Consequently, in his writings the connotation of basic political terms (e.g., 'nation,' 'Poland') differed seriously from the traditional, feudal language of the *szlachta*.

After the 'Statistics of Poland' was published in 1807, it became a subject of wide discussion, initiated mainly by Polish 'Jacobins'—the advocates of radical social reforms. In fact, the text bears the signs of the fundamental conflict between the two liberal traditions that came to influence nineteenth-century Polish political thought: the evolutionary, 'organicist' British liberalism and the revolutionary radicalism and centralism inspired by the French Revolution. Staszic became one of the most important Polish adherents of state-administered modernization, aiming at improving conditions by changing the structure of Polish society. Contrary to many thinkers of his generation who sought to link the liberal project to the early-modern noble republicanism, he refused to see any pre-liberal value in the political tradition of the Polish gentry, which he perceived as a remnant of feudalism. Consequently, he has often been characterized as one of the first political representatives of the emerging Polish bourgeoisie.

Staszic was recognized by Polish liberal historiography as one of the founding fathers of the 3rd of May Constitution, but his work was seen more

as a part of the discourse on economic modernization than as a concrete contribution to the nation-building process. Staszic's reputation as an important political and economic theorist grew considerably during the inter-war period. Later, Polish Marxist historiography represented Staszic and Hugo Kołłątaj as constitutive parts of the 'progressive tradition' and precursors of socialist ideas (pointing mainly to their support of the emancipation of the bourgeoisie and the improvement of the legal status of the peasantry). Since 1989, Staszic's reputation does not seem to have suffered damage.

MG

**On the statistics of Poland –
A briefing useful for those wishing to liberate this country**

The area of Poland from the topographic point of view

Poland together with Lithuania, as they were in 1772, stretches between the 35th and 50th degree east and between the 48th and 56th degree north, and occupies an area of 21 thousand square miles. [...]

The winters last for five months, while the remaining seven are for the summer, spring, and autumn. During the coldest winters temperatures reach as low as –16 and –27, but when a winter is mild they go down only to –10 or –16. In the summer, the temperature can be as high as 26 degrees.

The country has natural borders. In the west it is defined by a mountain range which starts in the Carpathian Mountains and extends to Silesia; its southern border is the Carpathian ridge, stretching as far as the Black Sea; in the North it is limited by the Baltic Sea. Between the two seas there runs the river Dnieper¹ and the Polesie marshland, where one may still be able to spot field trenches.

The current administrative division organizes the land into thirty-two departments. [...]

Departments on plains and in lowlands

[...] In the departments situated on plains the land is not particularly fertile, as it was initially a bed of the sea; the soil consisting of sands and clays produces rye, and in most places also wheat. The land hides various mineral resources such as amber, charcoal, and iron ores that are mined mostly in the

¹ Ukr. Dnipro (in Ukraine).

department of Mozyrz.² There are also clays that can be used for dying textiles.

Departments in the highlands

[...] When one crosses the southern bank of the Vistula River near Cracow, there emerge the higher ranges of the Carpathians, up to a hundred miles long and up to ten or fifteen miles wide. They reach as far as the Hungarian border, and occupy a part of the Cracow district and some Russian (Ukrainian) districts.

Starting from Cracow, along the Carpathian foothills, to Wallachia there lies a stretch of rock-salt and table-salt mines, numerous sulphur mines, sulphur wells, and iron mines, as well as the resources of gypsum and flints. The Carpathian ridge is about 7800 feet high.

Among the mountainous departments are Lublin, Chełm, Belz³, Podolia, Wolhynia, and Braclaw⁴. [...] Together with the district of Sandomierz they are the richest in crops, especially in wheat. The inhabitants also specialize in livestock breeding; in Wolhynia, Podolia and Ukraine they breed horses and herds of cattle. Generally, the local fertile black moulds do not need additional fertilization, and they produce artichokes, asparagus, and watermelons. Moreover, the soil in Podolia and Ukraine contains nitre, very similar to that found in Egypt.

Navigable rivers in Poland

There is no country in Europe whose trade would be supported by a similarly wide network of rivers as Poland. Between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea run 4819 rivers and streams. Some of them rise in the departments of Polock⁵ and Inflanty (Livland)⁶, in what was previously called the Orphean Mountains, some rise in the Carpathians, and others in the marshlands and lakes of Polesie. They flow either to the Baltic Sea or to the Black Sea. [...] Apart from the navigable rivers, there are just as many unnavigable ones

² *Bel.* Mozyr (present-day Belarus).

³ *Bel.* Belz (present-day Belarus).

⁴ *Ukr.* Braclav (present-day Ukraine)

⁵ *Bel.* Palatsk (present-day Belarus).

⁶ Territories of Latvia and Estonia.

whose waters could be used for driving mills, and whose channels could be made passable for ships.

These waters, which connected with each other could link the Baltic Sea with the Black Sea, are all located on plains. Their current is gentle; they flow from the south to the north across the flat country of Polesie to meet in a point, such as the Pińsk⁷ Lakes, where their waters direct themselves either towards the Black or the Baltic Sea.

[...] There is an urgent need to build more cobbled roads in the lowland departments, as has already been done in the Cracow department, in the Russian provinces, and in the Carpathian Pokucie (Pokutia). The departments on plains also have the largest forests, which could provide wood for the ship industry, as it is easy to float timber to the sea.

The area of the southern departments such as the district of Radom, the higher Carpathians, and the Pokucie district also abounds in great forests, but these provinces, especially the latter two, specialize more in table-salt mining. The forests in Radom are under constant threat of damage from the neighboring iron and calamine mines. The Carpathian Mountains are rich in timber which, however, is inaccessible, impossible to float and therefore unusable. Only a minor part is floated northwards or used in local smith's shops.

The area occupied by towns, roads, marshlands, forests, arable fields, and meadows

[...] The ultimate aim of the Polish government, as documented in the Constitution of the 3rd of May, and of the invaders who ruled here after the partition, has been to abolish the status of magnate, to free the land from the control of the privileged gentry, and return it to its rightful owners. This has been achieved, and today there are no magnates, just landowners; there are no privileges attached to the land, and all men are equally eligible to purchase it. The division of property has proved far more profitable, and the land is cultivated better; the land which used to belong to two or three magnates is nowadays distributed among thousands of landowners—calm, hard-working, and scrupulous people, who constantly improve their methods of land cultivation and excel in trade and craftsmanship. A peasant is no longer a slave, and although he does not yet have the full citizenship rights of his French

⁷ *Bel.* Pinsk (present-day Belarus).

counterpart, his status is like that of an Austrian, Bavarian, or Saxonian peasant, or like that of a French countryman before the revolution. He lives under the supervision of the government, not of his master. He is allowed to possess personal property as well as livestock, and together with his family he may become an estate tenant, making rental payments to the landowner in cash or in labor. His obligations towards the dominium, as well as the dominium's obligations towards him, are codified and guaranteed in legal regulations, the violation of which by either party is scrutinized and punished by the state administration. No landowner can take the land away from a peasant, unless he proves in court that the latter is indebted to him for the sum equal to the price of the estate, or that he is not fulfilling the obligations imposed on him by the law. Even if such a landowner obtains a relevant decree in court, the land will not be returned to him unless he receives a permission from the state government. The system described above has already been implemented in the areas of Poland annexed under Prussian and Austrian rule.

Since the land has been undivided and administered by landowners, the country's agriculture has undergone a significant improvement, and shown some outstanding results—in only twenty years the area sown has increased by a third. [...] I remember myself that Ukraine and Podolia used to have more steppes and pastures than arable fields.

When agriculture in Poland reaches such a level that the cultivated land occupies a third of the country, we will produce 200 million bushels of crops, and when this area grows to become a half of the country, this number may even grow to 300 million. In fact, it seems reasonable to speculate that leaving a third of the land for roads, forests, and waterways, we could reserve the remaining two thirds for arable fields, which could then bring the harvest of over 400 million bushels of crops.

In order to flourish in this manner, Poland needs good government. Under such a government people will do anything they are expected to do, because by nature people are virtuous, humane, and courageous when united, and above all devoted to their native soil. A nation, that is, a group of united people, is always ready to defend itself and its honour even if the task requires sacrificing its members' own lives and riches. Our nation has recently given a worthy example of its righteousness, when from an eighth part of its land, in only four weeks, it gathered forty thousand armed soldiers—other nations hardly manage such an achievement in a number of years.

But, Lord, save this nation, currently enjoying such a miraculous revival, from the return of the corrupted, ill-willed, foul or unenlightened leaders,

whose rule would again—be it by pride and evil or by incompetence and ignorance—lead it to ruin. Do not let this nation's revival be ensured by those who have taken part in its destruction, and above all save it, dear Lord, from magnates!

What this nation urgently needs is a king. A monarch capable of concentrating the power in his hands, spiritually strong and courageous, a man who would compose his court and government with regard to the nation's well-being, choosing its members from among the nation's most skilled, hard-working, and virtuous citizens; and a king who would never be tempted by glitz and glamour, or by the admiration of those who are rotten. [...]

The condition of cities

There are not many cities in the country, and the majority is more like villages, with their citizens being in fact peasants. Hardly anywhere will one find craftsmanship and factories, because most labor is invested in agriculture. The relationship between agriculture and crafts in the cities is such that primacy is given to the former, on whose basis the latter founds itself and develops. Under the present good rule agriculture has brought tremendous profits, which the cities with their crafts should use in order to evolve. The fastest way to achieve this is to use the Jews, whose number in relation to the entire population reaches a fourteenth part in some departments, a sixteenth in others, and generally an eighteenth part of the Polish people. Once their industry concentrates entirely on crafts and not on liquor distribution, they can indeed become very useful for the country.

The Polish population

After the first partition in 1776, the invaders eagerly computed what they had gained; it turned out that the land under Austrian rule was inhabited by 2,700,000 people, that under Russian rule by 2,900,000 people, and the land under Prussian rule had 900,000 inhabitants, which amounts to a total number of 6,500,000 inhabitants. This left 7,600,000 people who remained the inhabitants of the Polish territory. This means that in 1776 the whole of Poland had a population of fourteen million. [...] If Poland becomes populated as densely as France before the revolution, the total number of its inhabitants may grow to over thirty-six million people.

How big an army can Poland afford and equip nowadays?

As far as the issues of army, taxation and justice are concerned, the common opinion among Poles living under all three partitions is that the Prussian system beats the other two by a mile. If only the Prussian monarch lifted the pressure of his hateful and openly destructive policy towards our nation and its good name, if only he returned us our language, allowed our rights and laws to be in Polish, and re-established national administration offices, and if he became a Polish, not a Prussian king, then, having the choice of the three governments, his would be the one we would adopt. The Prussian system is marked by genius; power is concentrated in the hands of one king but at the same time, compared to other systems, it gives the greatest freedom to the individual citizens—a balance very difficult to achieve in a monarchy. Therefore, a nation that aims to build a self-governing system should proceed in its project very carefully.

Under the Prussian system the army was the least burdensome, taxes were equal and stable, and justice the least unjust. For these reasons, I shall use the Prussian system as a reference point when speaking about how the army and taxes could be regulated in our country.

All Prussian lands together have a population of approximately ten million people, who pay a tax of around 33 million thalers, that is, around 198 million złoty, and sustain an army of twice forty or fifty thousand at the cost of sixteen million thalers, that is, 96 million złoty. So, if Poland implements the same model and adopts the same costs of an army and the same tax system, while having a population one and a half times larger, and a four times bigger land area that can be cultivated in incomparably more numerous ways, it will be able to sustain properly an army, as it is in its present state, of twice fifty thousand soldiers. What is more, its army will be incomparably more distinguished, considering how handsome the Cracow, Pokucie men and the Carpathian highlanders are compared to their fellows from Pomerania and Kashubia. [...]

Poland's political relations with France

The geographical location of Poland and France at the sides of Europe has always bound these countries' fates together in a history of political relations. Poland's decline has shaken France and triggered the birth of an anti-French coalition, which immediately resulted in violent turbulence inside the country, attacks on the throne, changes of dynasty, and so on.

Poland is the place where the line, stretching from the Black to the Baltic Sea, divides Europe from Asia. Poland is Europe's bulwark against Asian incursions, and the graveyard of Asian hordes who died threatening European civilization. It is here that our chivalrous fathers Bolesław Śmiały,⁸ Żółkiewski,⁹ Chodkiewicz,¹⁰ Batory,¹¹ Zamoyski¹² and Czarnecki,¹³ for centuries resisted the attacks of Turks, Tartars, Cossacks and Kalmuks. Without preserving this bulwark, that is, without resurrecting Poland, all of Europe, and France as well, will find no peace; Europe on its own cannot for long stay ordered and peaceful.

Moreover, enlightened by France, Poland—as the home of a third part of Europe's population, i.e. the Slav people—could spread the light of civilization across these numerous societies who share one language and one set of customs. Although today these societies are uncivilized, the time when, enlightened by Poland, they become noble and form a federation, is indeed near.

Trade relations between Poland and France

The location of Poland between the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea, its vastness and numerous rivers make it a perfect land for developing trade. [...] For France, a trade agreement with Poland would be extremely beneficial. Although Poland is large and its population has reached 15 million people, it does not have many factories, apart from a textile plant in Great Poland (Wielkopolska), canvas manufactures in Podgórze, and a vehicle plant in Warsaw. Therefore, becoming involved in trade relations with France, Poland would be able to import from there all delicate textiles, muslins, batiste, calico, and all cotton and silk products, as well as spices, wines, olives and olive oil. In return, France could import from Poland such goods as potash, nitre, timber, pinks, ropes, sail canvas, tallow, honey, wax, leather, wool, various

⁸ Bolesław II Śmiały [the Bold] (1040–1081), king of Poland 1076–1079.

⁹ Stanisław Żółkiewski (1547–1620), Polish hetman, conqueror of Moscow.

¹⁰ Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (1560–1621), Polish hetman.

¹¹ Stefan Batory (István Báthori) (1533–1586), Prince of Transylvania and, from 1576, king of Poland.

¹² Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), chancellor of Poland, hetman and advisor of Stefan Batory.

¹³ Stefan Czarnecki (Czarniecki) (1599–1665), hetman, fought against Cossacks, Tatars, Swedes, and Transylvanians.

grains and other raw, unprocessed materials. In other words, as a result of an agreement with Poland, France could win all that which is now the object of the highly profitable trade between England and Muscovy.

Conclusion

I hereby warn you, my brave nation—use your time well! You already possess an area of land where you can gather troops and cultivate grains. Act as one and in your actions use all available methods—right or wrong, open or secret. Give all your best to provide arms for as many as possible so that you are able to grant yourselves a political status, or at least to secure your national language, laws, and administration. For centuries you have been no lesser than the Hungarians, so it will be a disgrace if you do not achieve their level of sovereignty. Do not be afraid to use force, because the degrading fate of enslavement awaits those alone who raise their swords in the name of infamy.

Translated by Zuzanna Ładyga

JOSEF DOBROVSKÝ: CONCERNING THE CONSTANT AND ENDURING ALLEGIANCE OF THE SLAV PEOPLES TO THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

Title: *Über die Ergebenheit und Anhänglichkeit der slavischen Völker an das Erzhaus Österreich* (Concerning the constant and enduring allegiance of the Slav peoples to the House of Austria)

Originally published: Read on 25 September 1791, at a meeting of the Royal Bohemian Learned Society attended by Emperor Leopold II. Published in Czech in *Kramériusovy c. k. vlastenecké noviny*, 1792

Language: German

Translated from A. J. Francev, ed., *O stálé věrnosti, kterouž se národ slovanský domu Rakouského po všechen čas přidržel*, translated into Czech by Karel Ignác Thám (Prague: Jan Štenc, 1926).

About the author

Josef Dobrovský [1753, Gyarmat (near Győr, western Hungary) – 1829, Brünn (Cz. Brno, present-day Czech Republic)]: linguist, writer and educator. Son of a military officer, he grew up in a German-speaking community in the small town of Bischofteinitz (Cz. Horšovský Týn) and learned Czech only at grammar school. Read philosophy and theology at Prague and became a novice of the Jesuit Order. After the abolition of the Jesuits in 1773, Dobrovský became a teacher and tutor of the aristocratic Nostitz family. In the late 1770s he began his historical investigations by critically analyzing many important historical documents and literary sources. In 1779–87 he edited one of the first German-language literary journals devoted to the arts in Bohemia. In 1787, he was appointed Vice-Rector and later Rector of the General Seminary near Olmütz (Cz. Olomouc), the only important public position he ever held. After the seminaries were dissolved in 1790, he was pensioned off and led the life of an independent scholar supported by his noble benefactors. Politically, Dobrovský advocated the enlightened absolutism of Emperor Joseph II. He did not believe that Czech could be elevated to a language of high culture and preferred to write in German and Latin. Nevertheless, with his linguistic works (a Czech grammar and a German-Czech dictionary) he took the first steps towards creating the modern Czech language. He is also one of the founders of comparative Slavonic studies. The height of his activity in this area was his reconstruction of the Old Slav grammar (*Institutiones*). The application of the critical historical methods on local sources (a series of historical analyses under the title, *Kritische Versuche*...) made him arguably one of the leading proponents of modern European historiography in Bohemia. Although he did not share the Romantic vision of national resurgence

promoted by the younger generation in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, he supported their patriotic activities. He disagreed with them, however, about the authenticity of the 'Manuscript of Zelená Hora' (a forgery that was put forth as an ancient Czech manuscript, supposedly from the ninth century). Immediately after the manuscript was 'discovered' in 1817, Dobrovský claimed it a forgery, which brought him harsh criticism from the younger generations of patriots. Hence, Dobrovský's legacy was accepted with mixed feelings among the national intelligentsia during the first half of the nineteenth century. His scholarly work had been reassessed since the end of the 1860s in connection with the long-lasting controversy over the authenticity of the *Manuscripts* ('Manuscript of Zelená Hora' and another 'Manuscript of Dvůr Králové,' supposedly from the fourteenth century). An organized attempt at a reappraisal of Dobrovský took place in 1929, at the hundredth anniversary of his death. Today, the assessment of his life and works varies; on the one hand, he is regarded as one of the most important 'enlighteners' in Bohemia, on the other hand, as the most important figure of the 'first phase' of the national movement.

Main works: *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur* [History of the Czech language and literature] (1791); *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache* [A comprehensive grammar of the Czech language] (1809); *Deutsch-böhmisches Wörterbuch* [A German-Czech dictionary] (1802); *Kritische Versuche, die ältere böhmische Geschichte von späteren Erdichtungen zu reinigen* [Critical attempts to purge ancient Bohemian history of later fictions] (1803–19); *Institutiones linguae Slavae dialecti veteris* [Foundations of the Old Slav language] (1822).

Context

The last third of the eighteenth century was the stormiest period in the lands of the Bohemian Crown since the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). In 1775, a great peasant uprising took place. In the 1780s, Joseph II initiated a set of key reforms inspired by the current enlightened doctrines of government (including the abolition of serfdom, tax and land reform, and Germanization of the administration). In the 1790s, the influence of the French Revolution and the ensuing wars affected all aspects of life. Joseph II's politics of centralization provoked the opposition of the Estates at the *Landtag* (Provincial Diet) sessions in Bohemia in 1790–91. The Estates, especially the lords and prelates, sought to ensure their political and social rights against the centralizing efforts of Vienna. They invoked the concept of *Landespatriotismus* on the basis of 'historical rights,' that is, on their historically codified territorial and administrative autonomy. For this purpose, the Bohemian Estates relied on the work of Enlightenment scholars who studied the history of the country and sought to raise the educational level of the general population. Greater interest in Czech language and history was, however, primarily a reflection of scholarly interest rather than an effort to challenge existing loyal-

ties. The enlightened patriotism of these scholars was not fully identical with the *Landespatritismus* of the nobility, but they complemented each other to a certain degree.

A number of popular ‘awakeners’ (Jan Nepomuk Rulík, Václav Matěj Kramerius, František Jan Tomsa) believed that their foremost patriotic duty was to educate the population and to raise the standard of living in the countryside. With their work of promoting Czech culture in the fuller sense and striving to improve the communicational ability of the Czech language, these men were instrumental in the gradual shift in the meaning of ‘nation.’ Dobrovský and some other Czech enlighteners, however, did not believe that a true resurgence of Czech and its adaptation as a tool of communication comparable to German would ever be possible. For Dobrovský, the term ‘nation’ did not refer to a pure hierarchical, estate society led by the aristocracy and academic élite, nor was it a fully developed community of people. The common people were part of the nation, but more as an object of a cultural mission than as a subject of history. To this end, however, the cultivation of Czech was indispensable.

In 1791, Dobrovský was asked to give an address to Emperor Leopold II, at a special session of the Royal Bohemian Learned Society in Prague. Dobrovský discarded his initial intention to restrict himself to more technical questions and instead stressed the importance that the Slavs of Austria had for the monarchy from a cultural as well as a military point of view. Even though he spoke with a great degree of permeability about both the individual Slav nations (peoples) and the ‘Slav nation’ as a whole, his main intention was to defend the rights of the Czech language. In front of the Emperor, however, Dobrovský skipped the last, politically most sensitive part of his speech, in which he asked the ruler for help in protecting the Czech language and keeping it alive. Both Count Joachim Sternberg, an aristocrat of patriotic orientation, and Václav Matěj Kramerius, editor-in-chief of a Czech newspaper, published the lecture soon afterwards in German and Czech respectively, including the omitted part. The text as a whole illustrates the geographical, institutional, and social imagination of ‘scholarly’ patriotism, as well as the clear limits such patriotism had with respect to the broad strata of the nascent national community.

The subsequent Romantic generations of Czech nationalists criticized Dobrovský for his distrust of the Manuscripts and his preference for ‘scientific’ truth over ‘national interest’. Later, however, in the canon of the ‘National Revival’ Dobrovský was portrayed as the ‘savior’ of the Czech language. His devotion to the ruling dynasty and his monarchical convictions were to an

extent suppressed in the national historical memory. In retrospect, Dobrovský's lecture has been understood as a kind of forerunner of 'Austroslavism.' Although his emphasis on Slav brotherhood in general was rather an exception in the community of Czech intellectuals at this time, some of them joined him later, after the first encounter with the Russian Army in 1799 during the Napoleonic wars. The Slav idea was cultivated by the next generation of Czech patriots, especially by **Josef Jungmann** and Antonín Marek in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It was complemented a decade later by a more systematic Pan-Slavism elaborated by **Jan Kollár** and Pavel Josef Šafařík.

MK

Concerning the constant and enduring allegiance of the Slav peoples to the House of Austria

Insofar as all citizens of the Austrian lands, in the loyalty to their most illustrious homeland that the Illyrian nation has demonstrated in its recent assemblies, have cause to compare themselves honestly with one another, then surely we Czechs have a twofold cause. The first being, if you pardon our temerity, that we challenge any other nation subject to the imperial Austrian scepter to name some particular of allegiance, obedience and loyalty in which they might surpass or equal us, most especially since the accession of our late and glorious Empress and Queen Maria Theresa, when, in the unutterable ruin into which our land had fallen after sundry lengthy wars, hardly a hope remained of a better future. The second is that we Czechs, being a tribe of the great and far-flung Slav nation, count it as our chiefest glory that we and other Slav peoples have kept fealty with the great and venerable German Imperial House and can, now and in the future, with the united power of all other Slav peoples, defend the Austrian realm from enemy attack.

With Your Imperial Majesty's gracious permission, I shall briefly enumerate those Slav peoples, so that none may doubt or censure me for asserting more than is just. The very title by which Your Imperial Majesty of the four-fold kingdom of the Slavs is known, King of the Croats, Dalmatians and Slavonians, the Czechs and Galicia, is no mere pomp or magnificence in the manner of Oriental Potentates, but indeed signifies what those words say.

Of a population of 367,000 Croats (here and hereafter I employ the lowest estimate), all men under arms are at Your service, and prepared to defend Your lands. Their bravery is known to all the world. The Croats, along with the Slavonian Kingdom, were the first of all the subject peoples constituted

in the royal house of Austria, and shed their blood in the cause of Hereditary Succession for female progeny, famously accepted in the year 1713. [...]

The Slavs¹ (253,000) among others who count themselves among the Illyrian peoples, provided the most perfect example of their willing allegiance to the House of Austria, an example for all other subjects to follow, at a time when so many around them were raising a discontented clamor, thereby silencing their discontent and assuring for themselves the favor and grace that they obtained, earned and deserved from Your Imp. Highness. [...]

The kingdom of Galicia and the duchy of Volodymyr, which was ceded to the House of Austria in 1772 when Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, bound it to her realm by ancient right (as likewise the land of Bukovina, with 130,000 souls, in 1774), with its 2,580,796 inhabitants, did so excellently augment the Austrian army with young Poles and Ruthenians that two mighty powers together could not prevail against it. Before that, too, the Polish people had earned the eternal gratitude of the House of Austria with the help it afforded at the siege of Vienna, when it repulsed the enemy.

The Czechs and Moravians, with whom, due to their common language and origins, I also include the Slovaks in Upper Hungary, number 6,000,000. They were joined to the House of Austria in the reign of Ferdinand I in 1526,² and since that time have fought against all the adversaries of that house. Their particular suitability to the estate of soldiery is generally acknowledged.

If, therefore, the total number of inhabitants of all the Austrian lands does not exceed 21,000,000, it is apparent that people of the Slav nations, among whom must be counted the Slavs of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, not only exceed every other nation in number, but are their equals in every other manner and degree. Justly, indeed, the Slav nation may pride itself that the internal security of the whole Realm has been maintained chiefly through their power, just as even now they are prepared to defend it with their blood and wealth, and preserve its supremacy with all their might. [...]

Even though a hundred and seventy years ago the greater part of the Czech nation—after a century of uninterrupted loyalty to the House of Austria, hav-

¹ Referring to the Serbian population living in the territory of the Habsburg Empire.

² Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503–1564), archduke of Austria, who, after the Battle at Mohács in 1526, was elected Bohemian and Hungarian king and laid the groundwork for the multinational Habsburg Empire that was to last until 1918.

ing been made subject by Ferdinand I, and divided in faith though they were—quit allegiance to Ferdinand II,³ their true crowned king, now, less through any apprehension of the pernicious consequences that would ensue should they betray their King and Rightful Lord, than through their firm belief in those rules founded on the love of mankind by which Your Imperial Majesty, as a wise and just lawgiver, purposes to vouchsafe happiness to many nations, they cannot find words sufficient to express the sentiments and thoughts that overwhelm their heart in the presence of their King. Oh, would I had the skill to be their faithful mouthpiece!

I blush indeed at my own temerity in laying before Your Imperial Majesty a few trifling and imperfect homespun works of our own Czech Muses, shy and spurned as they are, in which, though they cannot adequately sing the praise of so mighty a Ruler, the allegiance and obedience of the Czech people to the most illustrious of Houses and their King is so strongly and clearly discernible that there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of their thoughts, wishes and prayers. With what yearning did the Czechs await their Sovereign when He resolved to visit them! With what noisy jubilation did they receive Him in their capital, as even now they follow Him with a thousand felicitations wherever He sets foot, filled with the sure hope that He will bestow on them all the benefits that can be expected from a just, wise and munificent King and Father of his people! This is the song the Czechs sing with one voice, a song manifold in form yet single in substance.

[...]

Thus I am impelled, in the name of many hundreds of thousands, most humbly to beseech Your Imperial Majesty to safeguard that priceless ancestral inheritance of the Czech nation, her mother tongue, from improper suppression and ill-considered persecution. And whereas it may on the one hand appear that such a course would benefit the civic administration, in so far as all subjects would speak one and the same language, it is certain, on the other, that in these matters coercion is always harmful, and that the right course may often be to use the various languages of different nationalities as a most efficacious means to achieve political aims. I would sorely try Your Imperial Majesty's patience were I to speak of the necessity and utility of employing the Czech language in all instances and estates of governance in Bohemia and Moravia. Your Imperial Majesty has given us the strongest proof of consideration and respect for our language, in that You— in accor-

³ Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1620–1637). His appointment as King of Bohemia was one of the causes of the Thirty Years' War.

dance with the Golden Bull of Charles IV,⁴ the example of Your ancestors Ferdinand II and his son Ferdinand III, who used to receive Czechs in their native language, the example of the Empress and Queen Maria Theresa, who, in addition to ordering instruction in the Czech language at the Wiener Neustadt Military Academy, also appointed teachers of that tongue to the general studies of Vienna, and the example of Emperor Joseph II, God rest his soul, who earnestly advised his nobles to study the Czech language in the academies—have had some of Your Royal Highness's own Sons tutored in that tongue.

Translated by Robert Russell

⁴ Charles IV Luxemburg (1316–1378), Holy Roman Emperor and king of Bohemia. He is regarded as the greatest of the Czech kings. His imperial legacy is primarily embodied in his Golden Bull of 1356 which, among other things, proclaimed the complete political sovereignty and independence of the Bohemian kingdom.

DINICU GOLESCU: ACCOUNT OF MY JOURNEY

Title: *Însemnare a călătoriei mele, Constandin Radovici din Golești, făcută în anul 1824, 1825, 1826* (Account of my journey, Constantin Radovici from Golești, made in the year 1824, 1825, 1826)

Originally published: Buda, Crăiasca tipografie a Universității Ungurești (Printing house of the Royal University of Pest), 1826

Language: Romanian

Excerpts used are from Dinicu Golescu, *Scrieri*, ed. by Mircea Anghelescu (Bucharest: Minerva, 1990), pp. 47, 52–56, 82–83, 116.

About the author

Dinicu Golescu (Constantin Radovici) [1777, Golești (Wallachia) – 1830, Bucharest]: politician and publicist. The scion of a boyar family, he was educated at the Greek Academy in Bucharest. As it was customary for the sons of the local boyars at the time, Golescu learned Greek, Latin, French and Italian. He subsequently exercised various political functions under the last Phanariot ruler of Wallachia, Prince Alexandru Șuțu (1818–1821). In 1821 he became bailiff of the so-called Țara de Jos, a sub-administrative unit within Wallachia. Under the influence of the Greek revolutionary movement led by Alexandros Ypsilantis (1792–1828), a revolt against the Ottoman Empire broke out in Wallachia in 1821 under the leadership of Tudor Vladimirescu. Although agreeing with the social demands put forward by Vladimirescu, Golescu did not participate in the revolt but went into self-imposed exile in Transylvania instead. There he became an active participant in various reformist movements initiated by the exiled boyars. After the defeat of Vladimirescu's uprising the Ottoman Empire consented to the return to power of the local princes. Prince Grigore IV Ghica (1822–1828) was elected ruler of Wallachia. Golescu became an important member of the new regime, and in 1823 he traveled to Russia on a diplomatic mission. In 1827, together with another important writer of the period, Ion Heliade-Rădulescu (1802–1872), Golescu founded *Societatea literară* ('The Literary Society'), which advocated social and cultural programs for promoting education in the Romanian language. Golescu was also one of the co-founders in 1829 of *Curierul românesc* ('The Romanian courier'), one of the first Romanian newspapers. Golescu was a fervent supporter of developing the education system in Wallachia. In 1826 he built a school on his estate, admission to which was not based on social status and to which famous Romanian teachers such as Florian Aaron (1805–1887), professor of history at 'St. Sava' College in Bucharest, were invited to teach. Golescu's innovative ideas were continued by his

sons (Ștefan, Nicolae, Radu and Alexandru Constantin-Albu), also known as the ‘Golescu brothers,’ who became important participants in the Revolution of 1848 in Wallachia and prominent representatives of Romanian liberalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Golescu is acclaimed as one of the first promoters of the pro-Europeanist discourse in modern Romanian culture.

Main works: *Înștiințare pentru școala din satul Golești* [Notice for the school in Golești] (1826); *Însemnare a călătoriei mele, Constandin Radovici din Golești, făcută în anul 1824, 1825, 1826* [Account of my journey, Constantin Radovici from Golești, made in the year 1824, 1825, 1826] (1826); *Adunare de pilde bisericesti și filosofesti* (...) [The collection of clerical and philosophical teachings] (1827). He also translated Neofitos Vamvas’ *Στοιχεία ηθικής Φιλοσοφίας* which was published as *Elementuri de filosofie morală* (Elements of moral philosophy) (1827).

Context

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Danubian Principalities were under Ottoman rule. Instituted in 1711 in Moldova and in 1716 in Wallachia, this period of Ottoman rule became known in Romanian historiography as the ‘Phanariot Period.’ The political representatives of the Sultan were the Phanariot princes (*hospodars*) belonging to affluent Greek families from the Phanar, a district in Constantinople (Istanbul). Due to the fact that their appointment by the Sultan depended on the amount of money they paid for the investiture, the Phanariots attempted to recover their investments as quickly as possible after their arrival in the Danubian Principalities. New taxes and economic burdens usually ensued after the nomination of a new prince. Not surprisingly, Romanian historiography describes the Phanariot period as one of social injustice, an oppressive economic system and national humiliation. Less discussed is the fact that the Phanariots also contributed to the development of culture and education. More importantly, they favored the introduction of the ideas and attitudes of the Enlightenment into Wallachia and Moldavia.

The transmission of these ideas was the result of different factors. Whereas in Transylvania the ideas of the Enlightenment were diffused through university centers such as Vienna and Pest, in Wallachia and Moldavia a similar role was played by the Greek centers of learning spread throughout the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the Phanariot princes supported financially the establishment of schools and libraries in the two Romanian provinces. Although the Greek scholars teaching at the schools in Bucharest and Iași transformed and adapted many of the ideas embraced by the thinkers of the Enlightenment in Western Europe, a direct penetration of

Western European ideas into the local cultural universe of the Moldavian and Wallachian boyars also took place. For instance, knowledge of French—a language that was widely used and appreciated at the Phanariot courts—facilitated direct contact with the French intellectual tradition of the Enlightenment.

The development of culture and education was not, however, paralleled by similar economic and social progress. The life of the peasantry, especially, was extremely difficult. It thus became clear to Romanian followers of the Enlightenment that as long as the majority of the Romanians lived in poverty and semi-barbarity, the spread of culture and civilization among them was impossible. A social agenda was needed to accompany the intellectual programs of cultural education. Eventually, social unrest and the identification of the Phanariots with oppression brought about an open confrontation between the Romanian peasants led by Tudor Vladimirescu and the Phanariots. Initially the revolt was orchestrated by the *Philiki Etairia* as part of a general uprising of the Christian populations in the Ottoman Empire. However, it soon became a localized movement directed against the Phanariots without any intention of overthrowing the Ottoman rule. Although the Ottoman forces crushed the revolt of Tudor Vladimirescu and a Turkish military occupation was instituted in Wallachia (1821–1822), one important goal was achieved: the return to power of local princes in 1822. This political decision was welcomed by the local boyars. Moreover, the fact that the Ottoman Empire consented to the replacement of Phanariot princes with local rulers indicated that the Empire would accept political and social reform.

In 1824, 1825 and 1826 Golescu traveled to Transylvania, Hungary, Austria, the north of Italy, Germany and Switzerland. The experience of these travels is narrated in *Însemnare a călătoriei mele*. The cultural gap between Wallachia and the rest of Europe constitutes the underlying theme of the book. Golescu's cultural observations do not reflect an inferiority complex, but function as part of a descriptive process whose aim was to facilitate the understanding of Western European values, institutions and technological progress. According to Golescu, the only way to overcome the differences between Wallachia and other European countries was to introduce cultural reforms that could channel the interests of both the peasantry and the boyars towards a unified goal. The idea that the enlightening of the nation should include all social categories played an important role in Golescu's interpretation of cultural revival. He assumed that education would 'awaken' the nation from the slumber of history and eliminate the social injustice it experienced under the Phanariot domination.

Considering the fact that the majority of Romanians were illiterate and vernacular Romanian was not used by the educated elite as the language of culture, Golescu insisted that education and the development of national language were the first goals to be achieved in order to create a national culture. In order to convince his audience of the importance of a program of national education, Golescu pointed to examples offered by more advanced Western European countries. It was this attempt to understand the cultural progress of other countries that facilitated the integration of various themes of the European Enlightenment into arguments about the national and cultural revival of Romanian society. Following some of his sources of inspiration, such as Montesquieu and Rousseau, Golescu affirmed that the people should be able to select their representatives according to their merits and devotion to the community. In this manner harmony in society could be reached that could only contribute to the general progress of every social stratum.

The book enjoyed a great success among Golescu's contemporaries. The plea for cultural reform and the necessity of national education became central demands of the national movement before and during the Revolution of 1848. Moreover, Golescu's pro-Europeanist message was adopted and refined in the debates about Romania's place in Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, thus making this text one of the most formative narratives about Romanian national identity.

MT

Account of my journey

Oh! The human mind squirms when it recalls that God's creation, humans, our brethren, [...] have been laid on the ground with their eyes staring at the sun, and a big and heavy wooden beam laid on their stomachs so that they could not drive away the flies and mosquitoes that bit them. If these were not observed by anyone, may I have qualms, for I write lies; and if a Romanian did this to his Romanian brethren, only to gather more wealth, showing servitude to the masters, should he read my writing and remember, may he have qualms, and from here on may he be rid of those practices; for pens will not dry, and such practices will not be known only to confessors and felt only by those who suffered from them, but the pen will reveal to the community both those practices to the betterment of the nation, and those to its damnation.

I think it is time that all compatriots [...], the entire community from the biggest to the smallest, decide to rid ourselves of this foreign guise, and put

on the guise of mercifulness, of unity and virtues, resolving that all of us should serve the Motherland, as they do in all of Europe. And in return for all these gains, let us drive away languor, and work in our household, let us distance ourselves from luxury and take to economy. And then we, too, will achieve true honesty and happiness, and the people will—in a few years—reach that condition in which other peoples of Europe are. The blessed light will reach us when we follow the example set by other peoples and increase the income for schools, and when it will be decided that the sons of the aristocracy who speak foreign languages form at least a small society [so that they can] translate the useful things they read in foreign books into the national language; this will be a very useful achievement, and if we are not able to feel it, and see it done, our descendants most certainly will be able to; the accomplishment will also be good, as I say, for every work that is begun is half done. Is it maybe that those who speak foreign languages are few? And out of these, in the time of one year, no one could, if he decided to, translate a small book, a little story? Could they not divide a word or two among themselves and bring out lexicons; [could they not] gather to share with each other what they have accomplished and ponder together how to invent words that we do not have yet? So what if I speak in vain? A society of ten people can do a lot, and there are not only ten, but more, and those that know more will write more and better, and those that know little will write little and less well; and even the latter should not be embarrassed because of their little knowledge, for the people will reward the little knowledge, too, and the good intentions, the good thinking that each will have after their own power to serve the Motherland. For both those who contribute to her advancement with a gold nugget, and those that bequeath to her a grain of wheat deserve gratitude, all the more so those who will write afterwards as pioneers of this sacred craft, and as facilitators of the latter's job.

When I left Braşov, I started to write what I saw, in the national language, but after a few days, I was forced to write in Greek, for I often encountered sights which were not named in the national language, such as 'Sadirvan' [fountain], statue, cascades, and others, for which I would have had to spend hours thinking how to use them, and thus I was compelled to abandon the national language and start using Greek. I could not do this without being ashamed, because I saw all my companions write in their own language; and as I was also writing, they asked me if that letter was in my national language. And since I was forced to admit, I confessed that it was Greek, reiterating that in our Motherland the sons of the aristocracy tend to write in Greek. [...]

Of so many co-national brethren, how can I admit that a small society cannot be gathered to have the more knowledgeable ones interpret and others write, to make up for the severe lack of books that we endure? And in addition to this society there is need for another one, too, that shall ponder how to drive away the foe of our Motherland, and the spring of our poverty and neediness, which is luxury, and how to institute in its stead economy, hard work, working the land, doing commerce, which makes all empires wealthy. If I speak wrong, my brothers, admonish me; if I speak well, settle down to work, throw away enmities, and come together; grovel at the feet of the rulers, ask for all sorts of support for the good and useful things that you have in mind for the Motherland. [...] Thus, in a short while, this Mother Country will rejoice, for those truthful sons of hers will start to demonstrate that they possess virtue and that they have become acquainted with their duties to her. For people confess that the Motherland is a piece of land in which all her dwellers have shown an interest to guard [her], and no one wants to leave her, for no one wants to abandon his fortune, and especially that land where foreigners search for refuge. This land is a mother who loves all her sons; who does not discriminate against them, not even as much as they want to discriminate against each other. This is a feeder that gives her milk with as much joy as it is received. This is a mother that is always with all her sons, of whom some are richer, others are average, but she does not want to see any of them poor; whether they are big or small, she does not want to have any of them burdened with hardships. Thence, and even in the unequal division, she strives to achieve some equality, opening the way for all [of her sons] towards wealth and honesty, to which they can be held for their good conduct; she cannot merrily withstand any evil in her family, except strictly for those that she cannot prevent, which are old age and death. [...]

Judging similarly, and seeing all the councilors, tradesmen and storekeepers rich, I expected to find the peasants poor. This is the reason why I was forced to search all walks of life, to find out what method was used which I did not know. And I collected answers from all, and they all said that this was now the best political thinking of the rulers of Europe, to urge all and direct all the inhabitants to happiness, deciding that wherever that place in which only a few persons are rich should be, that place must surely be poor, despite the rich; and that wealth is stable only when all the people are happy. And the stability of the rich people's wealth is supported by those less wealthy. Therefore, from all these talks, I clarified this issue. But what is the use? For I was confused again by other misjudgments when I saw not only that many gentlemen, of higher and lower status, had a job, but also that they never defied

their duties, some in forty years of service, and that they try very hard, after three or four years, to ascend to higher position. Knowing that in our country, though positions change every year, ten people still wait for one position to vacate; and that, of the small nobility of the counties, many are still born and die without knowing what it is like to serve the country. This knowledge is against what I have seen here, and again I have assumed that this evolution of Europe was right and natural. For all youth, after they complete their education, must start a job at the very bottom of the hierarchy; and after working for several years, from time to time they must ascend to higher positions, for naturally old people die, and the young follow in their footsteps, and after them come the people in lower positions. And for more certainty, they inquired which councilor of the emperor I knew who reached the highest levels without having experienced the lowest ones? And maybe this outcome does not seem right to me, because I am used to seeing people without instruction, knowledge and talent, climbing rapidly to the highest levels, without doing any service to the Motherland, only by buying their way up; as well as those at the highest levels and rich, falling and becoming impoverished, with no error and trial, but only because they stopped paying the bribe; therefore neither high positions nor wealth is enduring. After hearing these, and remembering those in high positions and rich—and then in short time bankrupt—I had known, I stopped asking questions, and I started to reflect instead upon the endless hard work and taxes of the Romanian people for the past thirty years, for as long as I can remember, hoping that I might discover where they sank. And first looking at the ruling princes, who have been on the throne in all these years, and searching everywhere, asking and looking into the situation of many friends, I have not been able to find happiness in any of these families; I did not have to search for it in grandchildren and children, estates or other forms of wealth for all these families are in unmatched poverty, separated and spread out in all directions, without trial or obvious mistake. Therefore not finding the hard work of the people reflected in the wealth of the princes, I was forced to look for it in our families, too, and remembering the properties of the boyars, the power and honor they had in those long-gone years, I could not find rich families only poor ones, and some of them in deep misery; in those times all tradesmen borrowed money from the boyars, as each boyar had one or two of them that he favored and helped, while now the boyars are indebted to the tradesmen. [...]

And since hope is inseparable from the man who lives on Earth—that hope I have as well—I rejoice expecting that there will be a time, though not soon, when my Motherland, although not resembling exactly the same big

towns that I have seen in other countries, might at least make the first step which leads people to happiness; this one step is the union for the benefit of the community, which I have mentioned so often.

Translated by Mária Kovács

JOAKIM VUJIĆ: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE

Title: *Karakteristika naroda Serpskago* (Characteristics of the Serbian people)
Originally published: As an appendix to Joakim Vujić, *Putešestvije po Srbiji*, Buda, Pečatnja Kraljerskog vŕeučilišta Peštanskoga (Printing house of the Royal University of Pest), 1828.
Language: ‘Slavo-Serbian,’ an artificial literary language in the eighteenth century, resulting from the fusion of Church Slavonic and the vernacular spoken by Serbian merchants in Vojvodina and in the Ottoman Empire
Republished with commentaries in *Putešestvije po Srbiji* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1901–1902), and more recently (Gornji Milanovac: Lio, 1999). Excerpts used are from the earlier edition, pp. 170–180.

About the author

Joakim Vujić [1772, Baja (Southern Hungary) – 1847, Belgrade]: teacher and writer. He finished primary school in Baja and secondary school in Kalocsa and Szeged and then studied at the Faculty of Law in Pozsony (present-day Bratislava, Slovakia). After finishing his studies, Vujić worked as a teacher. From 1801 he lived in Trieste, in the home of a rich Serbian merchant, Antonije Kvekić, where he began to write and translate dictionaries and dramas. His first contact with the natural sciences and geography came from translating Georg Christian Raff’s *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* in 1809. This book is a typical example of German popular literature on the natural sciences. Vujić developed a lasting interest in travel writing. In 1826 he embarked on his first travels around Serbia on the invitation of the Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović (r. 1817–1839, 1858–1860) with the aim of writing a description of Serbia and to praise Miloš’s role as a savior of the people “from ruthlessness and the whip of the Turk.” The result of his travels was *Putešestvije po Srbiji* (Travels in Serbia). Although the pension that Prince Miloš Obrenović had given him was suspended in 1839, Joakim Vujić continued his travels in Russia, Wallachia and Moldavia. A staunch advocate of Enlightenment and a tireless educator, Vujić nevertheless opposed **Vuk Karadžić**’s language and orthographic reforms. Vujić’s major area of interest was theater. In his conception, theater was a vehicle that could edify the people and heighten their national consciousness. The first play he directed was performed by Serbian students in Pest in 1813. After that he traveled around Hungary and Serbia, performing plays and organizing theater groups. Vujić was the initiator and director of the first state theater in Serbia, founded in Kragujevac in 1833 with

the support of Prince Miloš. Vujić's translations of dramas from French, Italian, and German, as well as his own plays fostered the development of the theater in Serbia and earned him a reputation as a major figure of the Serbian cultural awakening.

Main works: *Novo zemleopisanije* [The new geography] (1825); *Putešestvije po Srbiji* [Travels in Serbia] (1828); *Putešestvije po Ungariji, Valahiji, Moldaviji, Besarabiji, Hersonu i Krimu* [Travels in Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Chersonese and Crimea] (1845).

Context

Joakim Vujić's geographic works aimed to promote scientific knowledge, particularly in the natural sciences. His project mirrored **Dositej Obradović's** ideas about the use of geographic knowledge in the process of educating the Serbian people. Vujić made a distinction between "general geography" (*zemleopisanije*) and 'national geography' (*opisanije naroda*), a distinction that he elaborated upon in his works. Shortly after the publication of 'The new geography,' Joakim Vujić traveled within Serbia for some months, describing the condition of Serbian churches and monasteries. The results of this research were published in his book 'Travels in Serbia.' To this descriptive work Vujić appended a short text reflecting his long-lasting interest in 'cultural geography,' entitled 'Characteristics of the Serbian people.'

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the discourse of Serbian identity was shaped by new ideas that arrived mainly through Vienna and the towns of southern Hungary. A major source of inspiration for the writing of the 'Characteristics' was Obradović, who likewise sought to construct a normative image of the features and attributes of the Serbian people. At the same time, Vujić was profoundly influenced by the Slovak philologist and historian Pavel Jozef Šafárik (Cz. Šafařík). In the same year as Vujić's 'New geography' was published, an article by Šafárik dedicated to the description and analysis of the character of the Slavs, and stressing the common characteristics of all Slavic nations, appeared in the magazine *Serbski letopis* (Serbian chronicle). Another powerful direction, embedded in full-fledged romantic conceptions, was **Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's** cultural project, bringing to Serbia the ideas of the Slovenian scholar Jernej Kopitar and of Jakob Grimm, and under their inspiration collecting relics of folk life and 'codifying' them as the basis of national culture.

At the beginning of the 'Characteristics,' Vujić distinguished two "parts" of the Serbian nation—one living under Turkish rule and the other living under Hungarian sovereignty—but emphatically stressed their similarity. This is followed by a description, with comparative references to other nations, of the physical characteristics of the Serbians and extensive remarks about their courage. Further, the author describes the religiosity of the Serbs as well as their traditional features, habits and customs, such as hospitality, unity, cleverness, a penchant for music and poetry, agricultural skills, folk customs and superstitions. The most unequivocal glorification of the Serbian people is in the part that accentuates their cleverness, while the most critical remarks are—in accord with the Enlightenment critique of religious fanaticism—directed towards superstitious beliefs and practices.

While written with the scientific aim of 'mapping' the nation, the book also served a political purpose, defining the features of national culture and mentality as the basis of the emerging Serbian nation state-building project. Vujić's travelogue thus presents an idyllic and bucolic picture of the Serbs, which had less to do with reality and more with fulfilling the wishes of the commissioner of his work and sponsor of his travels, the Serbian prince Miloš Obrenović. Accordingly, there is not a word about Miloš's autocracy, while he is frequently mentioned as a wise ruler, helper of the people and founder or renovator of churches and monasteries.

On the whole, Vujić's 'Characteristics' represents a crucial moment in the development of geography and ethnology in Serbia. It reflects a complex interplay between the Enlightenment genre of cultural geography and Romantic 'ethno-psychology.' In this sense, the text can also be considered a precursor of the rich tradition of Serbian and Yugoslav 'national characterology,' which reached its peak in the interwar period in the works of **Jovan Cvijić** and **Vladimir Dvorniković**.

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Characteristics of the Serbian people

As far as the characteristics of the Serbian people are concerned, they do not refer only to the Serbs from Turkey, but also to us, the Serbs from Hungary, who share the same nature and disposition, though we differ from one another in dress, especially in the case of the female sex, who wear different head ornaments according to the district they come from, for instance, the Belgrade district, the Požarevac district, the Sokol district, Šabac and Pročaj.

Serbs, then, are of fairly tall physical stature, soldiers, warriors, brave, mighty heroes, and that is the essential nature of the entire Slavic race. I was able to witness their heroism, courage and soldierly loyalty on 30 November in the year 1806 in the time of the Serbian prince Karađorđe, during the re-taking of Belgrade from the Turks. I saw then with my own eyes the city being attacked and taken from the enemy by storm. And I could not help but admire and wonder at their courage and heroic spirit, which even their foes, the Turks, acknowledged eventually, and being unable to stand up to their courage any longer, they were forced to surrender Belgrade to them.

In addition, Serbs are quite God-fearing, loving their Christian law above all else and holding their clergy in high esteem indeed. This I could conclude from the fact that so many churches and monasteries were built by our forefathers, such as the mighty King Stefan, the noble King Milutin, the noble prince Lazar, his wife, the noble princess Milica, their son, Stefan Despot¹ and others, who also gave to monasteries donations and royal letters with golden seals. This dutifulness, mercy and love of God and one's people can also be seen in His Princely Highness Miloš Obrenović, the present high prince of the Serbian people, who has, also out of his mercy and love of God and his own people, had thirteen new churches built and four monasteries, which had been burnt down and demolished by the hands of the cruel and fierce Turks, rebuilt from their foundation and brought to completion.

[...] And as far as Serbian shrewdness and understanding are concerned, the Serbs truly deserve praise, for a Serbian child aged five can, forsooth, learn in three months what a child of any other nation of the same age can barely achieve in five months. And this can also be said of the Serbs from Hungary, who hold eminent positions at universities, academies and institutions of higher education, and their shrewdness makes them leaders among the youth of other nations.

Serbs are also good singers who sing different songs about the heroes of old to the accompaniment of the *gusla*² and mainly in taverns, thus exalting and praising their heroic deeds with great ardor. No people, apart from the Hellenes alone from the time of the poet Homer, could sing about the heroic

¹ Stefan (r. 1217–1228), Milutin (r. 1282–1321), Lazar (r. 1371–1389), Princess Milica (r. 1389–1393), Stefan Despot (1389–1427)—medieval Serbian rulers.

² Gusla: Traditional one-string musical instrument, characteristic of the Balkans; the recitation of epic poetry is usually accompanied by this instrument.

deeds of its heroes so accurately and with such harmony as our Serbian people. And as regards cleverness and song-writing skill, almost no European nation possesses this character trait as much as our Serbian nation, with the sole exception of the Italians, who are called improvisers, whom I could hear in Venice, Verona, Milan, Florence and other Italian towns when I was traveling through Italy. These improvisers possess such skill in verse-making that they can produce verse as they speak, and can produce a thousand verses in beautiful and praiseworthy harmony. [...]

Otherwise, the Serbs are not significant craftsmen, but leave crafts to the Bulgarians who are mainly tailors, shoemakers, saddle-makers, gunsmiths, tanners, innkeepers, etc. However, almost all builders and carpenters, that is woodworkers, are Serbs.

Serbian farmers are mediocre, not too diligent or hard working, for heroes and warriors such as the Serbs cannot really be good ploughmen or diggers. The same is true of other heroic nations such as the Russians, Hungarians, Poles, etc. Their wives, on the other hand, are much more diligent and hard working than their husbands, for it is they who sow the hemp, pull it out of the ground, take it to the water to ret, crush it, card it on the carding comb, spin it and weave it into canvas, whiten it and finally cut shirts and other domestic clothing both for themselves and their husbands and children out of that canvas and then sew them together. Any Serb woman dresses her husband up virtually from head to toe; apart from the above-mentioned canvas, she also washes and prepares some sheep's wool, spins it, knits it and makes a pair of trousers, a waistcoat and a coat, which she previously dyes black, for her husband out of the wool; in addition she knits him pretty, colorful socks and a belt. Some of them make their husbands a cap out of the black wool; and he who is a well-to-do head of his household does not even buy shoes. [...] And as far as the clothes of the womenfolk are concerned, they each make them for themselves just as they do for their husbands, with the exception of some small ornaments such as trinkets, glitter and flowers or other small and insignificant garments which they use to decorate and beautify themselves. Every Serb woman must be able to make other items such as a shirt, belt, socks, dress and other women's clothing, otherwise she cannot get married. In the same manner Serb women also plough, sow, dig, gather hay and do other farm work.

During my stay in Serbia I also observed some other folk superstitions and customs which were taken over by the Serbs from the Turkish people, for they had lived with the Turks continuously for a period of 437 years; and the Turks are up to their ears in their superstition and nonsense, and if the noble

reader does not believe that, he should read *Satir* by Mr. Antonije Reljković,³ where he will learn how our Serbian people were corrupted by the Turks and took over all their superstitions, witchcraft and imprecations. However, in Slavonia, Hungary and other Christian provinces where such foul Turkish superstitions had not taken root in our Serbian people through the Turks, the enlightenment of the mind and the conscious soul has caused such nonsense to vanish and become eradicated, which I equally wish to be the case in our dear Serbia. Still, I have great desire to see what I have already experienced here, namely, that His Princely Highness, Miloš, holds learned and enlightened men in high esteem and in his grace rewards them; and the first signs of his enlightenment can be seen in the fact that he had some wonderful schools built in his home town of Kragujevac at his own expense, which cost thirty bags of coin, and he appointed two sensible and enlightened teachers to them, who receive their allotted annual salaries from him as well as something from the town authorities.

Translated by Krištof Bodrič

³ Matija Antun Reljković (1732–1798), one of the most famous Slavonian scholars of the eighteenth century, was the author of the didactic poem *Satir iliti divji čovik* [Satir or the savage man] (1762).

PASHKO VASA: THE TRUTH ON ALBANIA AND ALBANIANS

Title: *The Truth on Albania and Albanians: Historical and Critical Issues*

Originally published: London, National Press Agency, 1879

Language: English

The excerpts used are from the 1999 reprint by the Centre for Albanian Studies in London, with an introduction by Robert Elsie, pp. 3, 8–9, 18–19, 19–20, 31, 35–36, 43–44.

About the author

Pashko Vasa (known also **Wassa Efendi** or **Vaso Pasha**) [1825, Shkodra (*It.* Scutari, *Srb.* Skadar) – 1892, Beirut]: political activist, poet, novelist and language reformer. Pashko Vasa was definitely the most well-known Albanian activist of his time, mostly because he published in English, French and Italian. He was born in a Catholic family originating from Mirdita. He probably attended one of the foreign language schools in his native town. At the age of eighteen he began to work as a secretary at the British Consulate in Shkodra. He took part in the revolts of 1848 in Italy, first in Rome and later in Venice. After the crushing of the revolt in 1849 he moved to Istanbul, where, after a period of hardship, he was eventually appointed to the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was the beginning of a brilliant diplomatic career. From mid-1863 until the end of 1864, thanks to his fluent knowledge of Serbian, he worked as a secretary of Cevdet Efendi's mission in Bosnia. After his return to Istanbul, Vasa joined Kostandin Kristoforidhi (*Gr.* Costantinos Christoforidis), **Ismail Qemali** (*Tur.* Ismail Kemal), Jani Vreto (*Gr.* Ioannis Vrettos) and **Sami Frashëri** (*Tur.* Şemseddin Sami), in forming a very active group of Albanian activists. The main issue at that time was the establishment of a standard Albanian alphabet. Vasa's idea was to implement the Latin alphabet after introducing some minor changes. During the period of the **Albanian League of Prizren**, Vasa was actively involved in publication. His main ideological works as well as the best known of his poems, 'O Albania, poor Albania,' which became the anthem of the Albanian movement, were produced during that period. Nevertheless, he still remained an official of the Ottoman administration. From 1883 until his death in 1892 he served as governor general in Lebanon. In the Albanian national canon he is remembered as a great poet as well as one of the main Albanian politicians of the period.

Main works: *La mia prigionia, episodio storico...* [My imprisonment, a historical episode...] (1850); *La Bosnie et l'Herzégovine pendant la mission de Djevdet Efendi*

(1865); *Esquisse historique sur le Monténégro d'après les traditions de l'Albania* (1872); *Rose e Spine* [Roses and thorns] (1873); *L'Alphabet latin appliqué à la langue albanaise* (1878); *Shqypnia e Shqyptart* [Albania and the Albanians] in: *Abetare e gjuhësë shqip* [Schoolbook of the Albanian language], (1879); *La vérité sur l'Albanie et les albanais. Étude historique et critique par Wassa Efendi, fonctionnaire chrétien albanais* (1879); *Mori Shqypni, e mjera Shqypni* [O Albania, poor Albania] first published in: Jan Urban Jarnik, *Zur Albanesische Sprachenkunde* (1881); *Grammaire albanaise à l'usage de ceux qui désirent apprendre cette langue sans l'aide d'un maître* (1887); *Bardha de Temal. Scène de la vie albanaise* (1890).

Context

Three days before the opening of the European Congress in Berlin (10 June 1878), convened to discuss the situation of the Balkans after the San Stefano Treaty, delegates from most of the lands inhabited by Albanians met in Prizren. There were also some delegates from Bosnia and a representative of the local authorities. The main aim of the gathering was to “protect Muslim lands from the claims of the infidel” and this resulted in the foundation of an organization known as the ‘Albanian League of Prizren’ (see the *Program of the Albanian League of Prizren*). Soon after this first meeting a major shift took place in the politics of the League, mainly under the influence of the delegates of Shkodra and the statement of Abdyl Frashëri that there were no more “Muslim claims” but only “Albanian ones.” The new agenda included the protection of Albanian lands and the founding of an autonomous Albanian *vilayet* with its own army and police. The shift towards a more concrete and national agenda led to open conflict not only with the neighboring countries, but finally also with the Sublime Porte.

It was during this period that Pashko Vasa published his main political works. Thanks to his knowledge of foreign languages (Italian, French, English, Serbian, Arabic, and, of course, Turkish) and his personal contacts in Istanbul and elsewhere, Vasa became the main exponent of the ‘Albanian question.’ Indeed, this term was used for the first time in a memorandum, written probably by Vasa himself, which was submitted to the British Embassy by the Albanians of Istanbul in June 1878. In 1879 he published an article entitled ‘Albania and the Albanians,’ firstly in Albanian and later in French. Several issues presented in this article were elaborated at length in the ‘European edition’ of his *The Truth on Albania and the Albanians*, published simultaneously in French, English and German. And, finally, in the same year Pashko Vasa wrote and published his poem, ‘O Albania, poor Albania,’ the last verses of which read as follows:

*Wake up Albanian, wake from your slumber
And all together, as brothers, swear a common faith
And don't think about churches or mosques
The Faith of the Albanian is Albanianism!*

These words soon became one of the anthems of the Albanian movement and are considered to this day as the most representative work of their author.

Albanians were divided between two religions, each of them comprising two different confessions. Catholics inhabited the north part of the Albanian lands, Orthodox Christians and Bektashi Muslims (as well as other Shi'ya brotherhoods) the central, south and south-east parts; but the main confession of the populace as a whole was Sunni Islam. The Albanian activists saw in this division a threat to national unity, partly because the religious argument was used commonly to identify the population as Turks, Greeks or 'Latin,' but also because of the hostilities between these religions. To eliminate this threat, the idea of a non-religious identity was proclaimed and became one of the main postulates of the Albanian Movement. This conception was based upon two, later strongly mythologized, ideals, namely: (1) full tolerance among different religious groups; and (2) the insignificance of religion in the development of the Albanian national identity. It is important to stress that this supra-religious conceptualization of the nation can be viewed as a variation on the "Ottomanist" version of citizenship introduced by the Tanzimat. However, although this political language tried to engineer a new form of patriotism to overwrite ethnic and religious differences, it eventually enhanced regional formulations of the collective identity.

In his work, Vasa presented briefly the main ideas of the Albanian patriots of that time about the origin, history, social structure, customs and the contemporary situation of the Albanian nation. It was rather an encyclopaedic presentation than a proper study. If one considers the fact that Vasa was at the time a government official, it is easy to understand why his critique of Ottoman policy towards the Albanians was rather indirect. Nevertheless, in analyzing the administrative division of the region he pointed out that the partition of Albanian-inhabited lands did not resolve the 'Albanian Question.' Very soon the problem of the future frontiers of the Albanian *vilayet* became the crucial issue in the political discussions. In consequence, Vasa's work had an important impact on European circles, and several authors used his texts as a source.

In the Albanian context, the political aspect of Vasa's work has been rather marginalized, and the emphasis was put on his literary activity. For instance,

it was only in 1935 that his main essay was translated and published in Albanian. The communist (and, since 1967, officially atheistic) regime very often initiated and supported its anti-religious campaigns by quoting Vasa's above-mentioned verses. Moreover, reference to Vasa appeared in every historical or social study of the period, especially when religion was involved. The only work in which his historical essays were partly presented and analyzed is the monograph by Vehbi Bala, *Pashko Vasa* (1979), where Vasa's "not fully revolutionary" attitude towards the Ottoman authorities is criticized. On the whole, however, he is treated as one of the main ideologues of the 'Albanian Revival,' and one of the 'fathers of the nation.'

The Truth on Albania and Albanians: Historical and Critical Issues

Beyond [these] two classes, of whom the one includes those people who have lost their separate existence and have become confounded with other peoples, and the other, which includes those who have become extinct and completely effaced from the world scene without leaving any trace whatever of their existence, there is a third class, in which may be ranked those people whose origin is lost in the darkness of legend, yet who continue to live a life of their own in spite of a long series of vicissitudes which they have had to pass through, and whose history, for want of advanced civilization, or through circumstances which escape our conception, has remained a problem which has yet to be solved. To this latter category, without doubt, belongs the Albanian race. [...]

The Albanian for "eagle" is *Shqype*. *Shqyper*, or *Shqypenii*, means "the country of the eagle." *Shqypetar* is equivalent to "Son of the Eagle." This historical fact, which went unappreciated by ancient historians as well as modern philologists and learned men, deserves serious examination as it constitutes an irrefutable proof for those who, like ourselves, maintain that the Epirotes were distinct from the Hellenic people; that they had always had their own language—that of the ancient Pelasgi,¹ incomprehensible to the

¹ Mythical inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula, mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* as a people living in the region before the arrival of the Hellenes. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, major scholars in Albanian studies (among them the founder of modern Albanology, Johann Georg von Hahn) were convinced that Albanians were the descendants of the Pelasgi. Later on, this idea entered into the discourse of Albanian activists during the 'national revival' period. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the idea that the Albanians were descendants of Illyrian tribes prevailed (a view espoused also by Leibniz and F. von Thunman). Nevertheless, the Pelasgic origin of the Albanians still turns up in 'scientific' argument.

Greeks but spoken today in Epirus, Macedonia, Illyria and some of the islands of the Archipelago, as well as in the mountains of Attica—the same language which is called Albanian or *Shqypetâre*. [...] The geographic terms Epirus and Macedonia are derived from Greek, whereas the name Albania is of modern origin: it was the Europeans, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, who gave that name to the country of the *Shqypetârs*. But the *Shqypetârs* themselves do not know to what Epirus, or Macedonia, or Albania refer; these are names of which they are completely ignorant and which have no signification in their language. In fact, commencing with Albanian Scutari and drawing a line around the districts of Ipek,² Pristina, Wrania, Katchanik, Uskup, Perlepe, Monastir, Florina, Kebrena, Calarites, Janina and as far as the Gulf of Preveza, all the country between these geographical points and the sea is recognized as Shqyperia, the country that belongs to the race of *Shqypetâre* and has nothing in common with Greece. [...]

The Epirotes, the Macedonians and the Illyrians, that is to say, those of pure Pelasgic race whom foreigners in modern times have designated Albanians, united themselves under one patriotic idea and in the fifteenth century put up the most decisive resistance to Ottoman domination. In fact, at that time the whole of Albania took up arms to defend the independence of the country. George Castrioti³, surnamed by the Turks Skander Bey, after having lived as a hostage of the sultan, succeeded in retaking Croia and all the domain of his ancestors which the Turks had seized. In the name and with the help of the Albanians he declared war on the two most redoubtable sultans of the Ottoman Empire, Mourad IV and his son Mehmed, destroyer of the Byzantine Empire and conqueror of Constantinople. [...] After the death of Skander Bey around the middle of the fifteenth century, the Turks invaded

² *Tur.* Ipek, *Alb.* Peja, *Srb.* Peć, *Gr.* Ipekios (Kosovo/Kosova); *Alb.* Prishtina, *Srb.* Priština (Kosovo/Kosova); *Srb.* Vranja, *Alb.* Vranjë (Serbia); *Alb.* Kaçanik, *Srb.* Kačanik (Kosovo/Kosova); *Mac.* Skopje, *Alb.* Shkup, *Tur.* Üsküb (Macedonia); *Mac.* Prilep, *Alb.* Përlep (Macedonia); *Mac.* Bitola, *Alb.* Manastir (Macedonia); *Gr.* Follorina, *Alb.* Follorina (Greece).

³ Gjergj Kastrioti – Skënderbeu (ca. 1405–1468): Fourth son of Gjon Kastrioti, one of the main feudal Albanian lords in the first half of the fifteenth century. As a child he was taken to Sultan Murad I's court, converted to Islam, and given the name Iskander. Later on the Sultan appointed him Bey. In 1443 he led an uprising in the Albanian lands. Following a meeting of Albanian lords in Lezha (*It.* Alessio) a league was founded and for twenty-five years Skënderbeu successfully resisted Ottoman attacks. It was only after the death of Skënderbeu that Albania was fully conquered. For the Albanian diaspora in southern Italy, Skënderbeu was always a leading figure, but eventually it was during the 'national revival' period that he became the central figure in Albanian history.

and subdued Albania from one end to the other, as they had previously subjugated Greece. [...] Nevertheless, the submission and the reduction of Albania to an Ottoman province did not destroy the warlike spirit of its population. Inhabiting arid mountains difficult of access, having neither sufficient leisure to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits nor sufficient flexibility to yield to a new mode of existence or to turn to commerce or industry, the Albanian people have always retained their ancient character and ancient recollections; they remain a warlike people and soldiers like their ancestors. [...]

The Albanian people are divided into two large families, the *Guegarie* and the *Tosquerie*, the first is commonly called Upper Albania and the other Lower Albania. Upper Albania commences at Antivari,⁴ embraces all the Catholic tribes of the north and the districts of Ipek, Pristina, Katchanik, Uskub, Perlipe, Monastir, Ohrida, and terminates at Elbassan. Lower Albania begins at Elbassan, and extends as far as the Gulf of Preveza. [...]

Until 1831 Albania was governed by its national chiefs. Each city of any importance had its Pasha or Bey, and these inherited power from their fathers; the Sublime Porte sanctioned this custom and confirmed it in renewing the office in favor of the successor. Albania was divided into two large units of government, of which the seats were Scutari and Janina. To the Pasha of Scutari rallied all the Pashas and Beys of Upper Albania, and to the Pasha of Janina all the Pashas and Beys of Lower Albania. These two Pashas were like two great feudatories; they had, so to say, under their overlordship the Pashas of the other cities as well as the chiefs of the mountains, who all recognized their supremacy and obeyed their orders.

The attempt has often been made to insinuate into public opinion the belief that between the Guegues and the Tosques there existed *ab antiquo* a certain discord, even a traditional enmity. Nothing is more incorrect. The misunderstanding that sometimes manifested itself between them must be attributed not to the feelings of the population but to the rivalry between the pashas of Scutari and Janina, a quite personal rivalry inspired simply by family ambition. The people at times supported this rivalry but in their hearts they did not share it. Each time that it was necessary to fight for the cause of the Empire, the Guegues and the Tosques fraternized, and there was no sentiment between them tending to separate them, but one noble emulation to distinguish themselves by courage, fidelity and bravery. The Guegues and the Tosques are of one family; they are brothers who

⁴ *Srb. Bar, Alb. Tivar* (Montenegro).

shelter themselves under the same roof and warm themselves at the same hearth.

Up to the period mentioned, the condition of Albania was brilliant, the country was rich, happy, and powerful; its military force was most redoubtable. [...] We can also say without fear of contradiction that the Albanians alone have at all the times defended their country against the aggressions of their neighbours, and have contributed to maintaining in the plenitude of its power the Ottoman domination of Roumelia. [...] Unfortunately, the change in the governmental system, which the men set over the administration of the country was ill-informed or incomplete; they threw the administrative system into confusion and brought disorder to the public mind. Deprived of its ancient administration and confused by the misapplication of the new laws and administrative forms by successive governors, Albania found itself the butt of the most corrupt covetousness, of innovations without consistency, of acts without cohesion. Thereby the minds of people have been troubled—torn between the recollection of the past, astonishment at the present, and uncertainty as to the future.

Add to these inconveniences the obligation of requiring a passport in order to be free to go from one Albanian *vilayet* to another, so that the men of one Albanian town are considered to be foreigners in another Albanian town; [...] These inconveniences, according to our views, will not disappear as long as Albania continues to be governed as three separate bodies and with three distinct administrations. [...] It appears to us, therefore, in the interests of all, to be of the highest importance to unite Albania into one sole *vilayet*: to give it a simple, compact, and strong organization; to give a large share of the public administration to the native element of the country, and to inaugurate under the aegis of His Majesty the Sultan an era of unity, of concord, and of fraternity for all faiths and all religions.

Translated by Edward St. John Fairman

CHAPTER II.

CULTURAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES OF IDENTITY

JOSEPH VON SONNENFELS: ON THE LOVE OF FATHERLAND

Title: *Über die Liebe des Vaterlandes* (On the love of Fatherland)

Originally published: Wien, Joseph Kurzböck, 1771

Language: German

Excerpts used are from the original edition, pp. 6–7, 10–13.

About the author

Joseph Freiherr von Sonnenfels [ca. 1732, Nikolsburg (Cz. Mikulov, present-day Czech Republic) – 1817, Vienna]: politician and legal scholar. Sonnenfels was the son of a Jewish rabbi, Lipman Perlin, who moved from Berlin to Nikolsburg and converted to Catholicism. Eventually, the family settled down in Vienna. Sonnenfels was educated at the Piarist College in Nikolsburg, and from 1745 to 1749 continued his studies in Vienna. In 1749 he joined the army. From 1754 to 1758, he studied law at the University of Vienna. In 1761 he founded a German Academy in Vienna. In 1763 he became the first professor of ‘Polizey—und Kameralwissenschaften’ (i.e., applied political science), a position he would occupy until 1791. In the 1760s he published the weekly, *Der Mann ohne Vorurtheil* (The Man without prejudice), in which he outlined his reformist ideas. Sonnenfels is credited with having established ‘political science’ as a distinct subject in the university curriculum in Vienna, by separating it from ‘economics’ and ‘finance.’ Moreover, Sonnenfels was one of the most ardent advocates of the abolishment of torture, which occurred in 1776. In 1779 he was appointed ‘imperial councillor’ and member of the ‘Commission on Studies and Censorship.’ In this position, Sonnenfels worked intensively on the judicial reforms later introduced by Joseph II. As an adviser of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, Sonnenfels had a direct impact on the Austrian domestic reform program in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Moreover, many of his students became influential bureaucrats and politicians, which favored the transmission of Sonnenfels’s ideas during the nineteenth century. His concept of the centralized state, in particular, was favorably viewed by the liberals of the ‘Vormärz’ era. As one of the most important ‘cameralists’ of the late eighteenth century, Sonnenfels occupies a central place in the historiographical narratives dealing with Austria during Maria Theresa’s and Joseph II’s reigns. He is also one of the few Austrian authors to be considered in general interpretations of the European Enlightenment.

Main works: *Briefe über die Wienerische Schaubühne* [Letters about the Viennese stage] (1768); *Grundsätze der Polizey-, Handlungs- und Finanzwissenschaft* [Principles of Police, Commerce and Financial Science] (1769–1776); *Über die Liebe des Vaterlandes* [On the love of Fatherland] (1771); *Über die Abschaffung der Tortur* [On the abolishment of torture] (1775); *Gesammelte Schriften* [Collected works] 10 vols. (1783–87).

Context

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Austrian state and society experienced a period of profound transformations. In 1749, facing increasing political and social unrest, Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740–1780) introduced a number of reforms, which would have an enduring effect on the Habsburg Monarchy. The administration of the state was divided among a state chancellery, a state council, and the *Directorium in publicis et cameralibus* charged with the management of internal affairs. Other reforms included the introduction of district commissions, the creation of a general land register and the establishment of a military academy in Wiener Neustadt. Maria Theresa also chose a new state chancellor, W. A. Kaunitz (1711–1794), an aristocrat attuned to reformist and enlightened ideas. Joseph II (r. 1780–1790), Maria Theresa's son (and co-regent between 1765 and 1780), continued the reforms.

The reform of education was one of the most important transformations brought about by Maria Theresa's and Joseph II's reigns. Initiated by Maria Theresa's Dutch physician, Gerhard van Swieten (1700–1772), the reforms opened the Austrian public to new ideas and attitudes. Furthermore, in 1759 the Jesuits lost control over censorship. As a result, the Austrian public was exposed to works previously banned by the Jesuits, such as Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois*, and began to formulate its own version of the Enlightenment. The 'enlightening' of the Empire preoccupied both the bureaucrats working for the creation of a functioning imperial apparatus and the intellectuals determined to elevate Austrian art and literature to contemporary European standards.

Both Maria Theresa and Joseph II aimed at restructuring and improving the state structures, either directly through reform or indirectly by improving existing conditions. Joseph II wanted to transform the monarchy into a centralized state, with German as the official language. To accomplish his reformist agenda, he created a large bureaucracy whose members were granted certain privileges (tenure, pensions). In Austria the ideas of the Enlighten-

ment were propagated less by philosophers (as in France and England) than by imperial officials. Joseph II, in particular, cultivated the economic system known as ‘cameralism.’ According to this system, public revenue was the sole measure of national prosperity and the state exercised complete control over the economy.

Joseph von Sonnenfels was one of the most active Austrian cameralists. Together with Karl Anton Martini (1726–1800), professor of Natural Law and Public Administration at the University of Vienna, Sonnenfels helped to disseminate the political ideas of the Enlightenment. In his university lectures and the articles he published in *Moralische Wochenschrift* (Moral weekly), Sonnenfels discussed important political questions and expressed his critical views on existing legislation. In *Über die Liebe des Vaterlandes* (1771) Sonnenfels further elaborated his concept of the centralized state, in which the monarch and the subjects were united both by patriotic pride and by common desire for economic, social and political improvement. Sonnenfels’s text can be considered the first relevant Austrian contribution to the debate on patriotism that took place in the German-speaking lands since the mid-eighteenth century, as illustrated by Isaak Iselin’s *Philosophische und patriotische Träume eines Menschenfreundes* (1755), Justus Möser’s *Patriotischen Phantasien* (1774–78), and Friedrich Carl von Moser’s *Von dem Deutschen Nationalgeist* (1765). His conception also resembles the theory of patriotism elaborated by the English oppositional thinker Henry St. John Bolingbroke (1678–1751), whose work shaped many ideas about the ‘patriotic nation’ and the ‘patriot king’ influencing mid-eighteenth century discussions about state and society.

The starting point of his analysis is the assumption that the patriotic connection between the subjects and the state is an important socio-political factor, which can substantially contribute to the stability and internal cohesion of the state. Citizens should be educated to appreciate the value of the state, which in turn should encourage patriotic feelings. If the state protects the individual—and Sonnenfels is keen on emphasizing the equality of individuals before the law—then the public interest would dominate over seditious individualist tendencies. It is the public interest combined with the need to satisfy the exigencies of the state that should preoccupy true patriots. Anyone living within the boundaries of the state should be animated by a love of the fatherland. Sonnenfels’ successive sub-chapters, in which this problem is dealt with, have the following titles: ‘A Patriotic Nation,’ ‘The Regent as Patriot,’ ‘The Patriotic Aristocracy,’ ‘The Clerk as Patriot,’ ‘The Soldier as Patriot’ and ‘The Father as Patriot.’

In the book, Sonnenfels also addresses the issues of language and education. In a multi-national empire like Austria, one official language was considered vital for maintaining administrative cohesion. Apart from the political bonds based on loyalty towards the state, language could create a homogenized society, which Sonnenfels regarded as the epitome of good organization and successful reforms. Unification and centralization should be the primary intentions of state leadership. This demand was integrally linked with the concept of the Austrian state idea ('*Österreichische Gesamtstaatsidee*'), which emerged for the first time in the Habsburg Monarchy in the eighteenth century. In this context, it is understandable that Joseph II believed it was necessary to force through—at the expense of Latin (in the Hungarian lands) and the other vernaculars—the use of the German language in public life, administration, law and the army.

In contrast to the nineteenth-century projects of nation-building, Sonnenfels's theory of patriotism was conspicuously lacking in any reference to a common past or to ethno-cultural markers. At the same time, Sonnenfels realized that the political allegiance between the emperor and the governed constituencies was not sufficient to transform Austrian subjects into Austrian patriots. 'Love of country' could not be accomplished without the proper education. According to Sonnenfels, through education 'one can make a whole people patriotic.' In this context, Sonnenfels urged the direct integration of the schools and universities in an educational program animated by patriotism; he also maintained that state officials should promote the concept of patriotism in their institutions.

In the nineteenth century, Sonnenfels was constantly invoked as one of the most important thinkers of Austrian cameralism, a characterization he retained in the scholarship dealing with Austrian history. In the 1960–70s, scholars such as Robert A. Kann and Helmut Reinalter integrated his works into the broader context of Austrian intellectual history in the eighteenth century.

MT

On the love of Fatherland

Our hearts remain cold at the name of the Fatherland; yet this is because one cannot be much moved by an object one barely knows, or knows too little. The Greek or Roman father did not merely bring up a son for the family; he brought up a citizen for the Republic. The young man was quickly made aware of the advantages it conferred, learning to perceive in it a perfection wanting in other states, and was naturally moved by such perfection. [...]

While in our ears the word Fatherland is a sound devoid of meaning, for the Roman and the Greek it resounded like the name of a loved one. [...]

The land in which a man has his permanent abode, the laws to which the inhabitants of that land are subject, its established form of government and the people who inhabit the same land and enjoy the same rights—all these make up the Fatherland.

The feeling of happiness imparted to us in that land, under the protection of such laws, through such a form of government and in the society of such fellow-citizens—all these produce a sense of attachment that is the foundation of our love of the Fatherland, though not that love itself.

To this must still be added the conviction that we could not find such happiness, at least not to such an extent or so reliably, in any other land, under any other law or form of government, or with any fellow-citizens other than these. That is, we must be committed to our Fatherland and consider it the best state, physically and politically, that we could possibly aspire to. Only then will this attachment cease to be an object of vain and idle speculation, and be augmented by the fear of losing these advantages, whereby the endeavor to avoid such loss will convert it into action.

In every loss suffered by the Fatherland we see our own loss; in its every gain we see an increase in our own advantage. And such benefit is not limited to the merely material: soon it expands to encompass abstract notions such as the glory of the Fatherland, which derives from its gracious regents, its great men in all walks of life, and its success in war, erudition and the arts. National pride is a part of love of the Fatherland.

I shall conclude not with an explanation, but with a summary definition: love of the Fatherland manifests itself in an active attachment to the Fatherland that springs from the conviction that its well-being is inseparably and exclusively linked with our own.

Translated by Robert Russell

FRANCISZEK SALEZY JEZIERSKI: SOME WORDS, ALPHABETICALLY ORDERED

Title: *Niektóre wyrazy porządkiem abecadła zebrane i stosownymi do rzeczy uwagami objaśnione...*, 'Naród' (Some words, alphabetically ordered and equipped with a relevant commentary: definition of the 'Nation')

Originally published: As a brochure, Warsaw, 1791

Language: Polish

The excerpts used are from Franciszek Salezy Jezierski, *Wybór pism*, ed. by Zdzisław Skwarczyński (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy PIW, 1952), pp. 217–219.

About the author

Franciszek Salezy Jezierski [1740, Jeziory (near Łuków, Masovia) – 1791, Warsaw]: Catholic priest and political activist. Jezierski was a radical priest involved in political life during the Great Diet (1788–1791). After studying in Italy, he worked for the *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej* (Commission for National Education; the first ministry of education in Europe) and co-operated with another enlightened priest, Hugo Kołłątaj (1750–1812), the founder of the radical circle *Kuźnica Kołłątajowska* (the so-called 'Kołłątaj's Smithy'). Jezierski published dozens of booklets advocating the emancipation of commoners and peasants as well as criticizing the backwardness of the Polish gentry. During the Great Diet, he was known as the most radical and malicious publicist of the *Kuźnica*. He was also interested in contemporary French political debates (he translated several contemporary French pamphlets, among others those of Emmanuel Joseph de Sieyès). Jezierski belongs to the 'second tier' of Polish radicals of the Great Diet period, overshadowed by the personality of Hugo Kołłątaj. On the whole, he failed to arouse much interest on the part of historians, who usually see him simply as one of Kołłątaj's adherents and collaborators.

Main works: *Jarosza Kutasińskiego herbu Dęboróg, szlachcica łukowskiego, uwagi nad stanem nieszlacheckim w Polsce* [Remarks of Jarosz Kutasiński, a nobleman from Łuków, on the Polish lower classes] (1790); *Goworek, herbu Rawicz, wojewoda sandomirski: Powieść z widoku we śnie* [Goworek Rawicz, the voivod of Sandomierz: A novel based on a dream] (1789); *O bezkrólewicach w Polsce i wybieraniu królów, poczynszy od śmierci Zygmunta Augusta aż do naszych czasów* [The interregna in Poland and the elections of kings from the death of Zygmunt August to our times] (1790); *Katechizm o tajemnicach rządu polskiego jaki był ok. R.*

1735 napisany przez J. P. Sterne w języku angielskim potem przełożony po francusku, a teraz na koniec po polsku. [The catechism of mysteries of the Polish government, as it was written in 1735 by J. P. Sterne in English, then translated into French, and now finally into Polish] (1790).

Context

The period between 1788 and 1791 in Poland brought about stormy political debates that concentrated around the Great Diet. During the four years of sessions, two main political trends emerged: the enlightened reformists (divided into those who were attached to national customs and the cosmopolitans) and the conservative, so-called republican camp. The controversies arose around several topics. As regards foreign policy, the conservatives believed that Russia would preserve Poland in its territorial and political shape, leaving the noble democracy intact. In contrast, one part of the ‘enlighteners’ put their trust in the Prussian alliance. In internal affairs, they raised the issue of the emancipation of the bourgeoisie, whereas conservatives tended to defend the social stratification of the *ancien régime*.

On the one hand, the representation of the traditional, conservative gentry was still quite strong (see *Targowica Confederation*). On the other hand, the adherents of reform (abolition of serfdom, stronger monarchic power and the legal emancipation of the bourgeoisie, army reform) were actively using various tools of propaganda: political journalism, broad-sheets and pamphlets. Consequently, they won the support not only of the growing Polish urban middle class, but also a considerable part of the gentry. In 1791 different groups of ‘enlightened’ politicians (including the king, Stanisław August Poniatowski) joined forces and devised a new constitutional document (commonly referred to as the 3rd of May Constitution). It included all the postulates of enlightened political philosophy, although in a limited, moderate shape. However, the attempt to rescue the Polish state came too late. After several months, Russian forces invaded Poland and the short war resulted in the second partition of Poland (see **Tadeusz Kościuszko**, *Połaniec Mani-festo*).

Hugo Kołłątaj, leader of the radical *Kuźnica* and Jeziefski’s main source of intellectual inspiration, published the latter’s dictionary after the author’s death. It enjoyed considerable popularity at the time of the Great Diet. Jeziefski’s work, influenced by the *Encyclopédistes*, exemplifies the political thought of the radical wing of the Polish Enlightenment. It includes all the usual demands: the emancipation of the lower classes, reform of the obsolete

political system of the *Rzeczpospolita*, and a reformulation of the definition of the Polish political nation.

The contents of the dictionary, especially the entry on ‘nation,’ have led Polish interpreters of Jezierski’s thought to two different conclusions. The first has stressed his social radicalism: it was easy to find in the text a revolutionary formulation of the nation encompassing not only the nobles but also the third estate. According to Jezierski, the nobles represented cosmopolitanism, whereas ‘true national values’ could be found in the common people. But in the 1980’s, Andrzej Walicki questioned Jezierski’s social radicalism, while he simultaneously acknowledged the modernity of Jezierski’s formulation of the concept of ‘nation.’ As Walicki asserted, this conception of nationhood did not resemble the previous definition of political nation, united by the same law and ruler, which was typical of the political thought of the Polish Enlightenment. On the contrary: Jezierski’s understanding of the nation takes into consideration language and culture and, last but not least, recognizes the existence of ‘stateless’ nations like the Germans and Italians. Furthermore, while stressing the value of education, he also put special emphasis on cultural autarchy, echoing the argument of Rousseau’s famous reform project, *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne* (1771–1772). Thus, Jezierski’s dictionary opens the way to the romantic reformulation of the idea of the nation. According to this definition it becomes possible to separate conceptually the nation and the state, thus legitimizing the stateless Polish nation. Despite his pioneering role in devising a new definition of the nation, Jezierski’s texts found hardly any reception in later polemics. His selected writings were published only during the Stalinist period, as an outcome of the search for native ‘progressive traditions.’

MG

**Some words, alphabetically ordered
and equipped with relevant commentary:
definition of the ‘Nation’**

Nation—an assembly of people who share one language, one set of customs and one tradition, under one law that is common for all citizens. A nation and a nation’s government are two separate things, although just as a nation cannot exist without a country, that is, without its geographical base, a country cannot exist without a government. The Italians are a nation, and their nation is clearly distinct from others; however, they do not have a gov-

ernment, a legal system, or a power status. Neither does anyone wage war or make peace with Italy. Split into a multiplicity of kingdoms and republics, each following a different model of government and leadership, the Italian nation has lost all that constituted its national status. Still, the echoes of national dignity can be heard in Italian language, music, architecture, and art, and one must admit, after the psalmist: *Non fecit taliter omni nationi*.¹

Similarly, the Germans are a nation of almost 30,000,000 citizens who speak one language and whose lifestyle looks alike, yet their country does not enjoy the national importance of France, Spain, Muscovy or others. The Germans do not have a kingdom—their monarchy bears the name of an empire, an institution which no longer exists in the world—but it is governed by princes. With vanity reminiscent of the Roman Empire, the German nation deprives itself of dignity, both natural and acquired, and in the German land there originate states which under boastful names hide their real source of power—the nation. For instance, when the Austrian army is sent to war with the Prussians, it does not matter whether the Prussians triumph over the Austrians or vice versa, because the money spent and the blood shed in their war was German. From this we may gather that in the same way that wars destroy nations, acquired prejudices and superstitions bring them to ruin and drain them of their inborn value. Is it therefore surprising that so many nations were lost in history and their names challenge the memory and wits of scholars? Who were the Vandals, the Cimbrians and the Sarmatians, and what did they turn into? There can be no certainty as to whether they died by the enemy's sword or by the blade of their own asininity.

A nation prevails safely when it preserves its inhabitants' lifestyle guarded by educational processes or by religious regulations that are in affiliation with the nation's government, as in the case of the Jewish or Turkish religion. This is precisely the case of the Chinese, whose endurance is due to their remaining within their borders and maintaining one way of life; what happened to the brave Tatars when they invaded China and stepped among a benign but densely populated nation that was consolidated in its customs? They turned into Chinese.

If a nation does not have general laws for all the inhabitants of its land, if only one house in the nation enjoys the privileges that elevate its descendants above other people, this nation will never endure, because those who do not live with privileges but under common law (that is, a law insignificant in re-

¹ "He hath not dealt so with any nation." (Psalms, CXLVII: 20).

lation to privileges) shall become indifferent to the nation's future and inconsiderate of the nation's good name. Putting it simply, like a horse that will never care whether the name Poland signifies the entire Polish nation all around the world, neither will a Polish bourgeois or a peasant recognize when damage is caused to his nation, because the latter does not do for him anything that would make him a true citizen of Poland.

Translated by Zuzanna Ładyga

JÓZEF WYBICKI: DĄBROWSKI MAZURKA

Title: *Pieśń Legionów Polskich we Włoszech – Mazurek Dąbrowskiego* (The song of the Polish legions in Italy – the Dąbrowski Mazurka)

Originally published: First published in *Dekada Legionowa* in 1799 in Mantua. Its first public recitation dates probably from 1797

Language: Polish

Modern Polish edition: *Nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2000), vol. 4, p. 136. English translation: *Polish literature from the Middle Ages to the end of the eighteenth century: A bilingual anthology*, selected and translated by Michael J. Mikoś (Warszawa: Constans, 1999), pp. 596–597.

About the author

Józef Wybicki [1747, Będomin near Kościerzyna – 1822, Manieczki near Śrem (both in Wielkopolska)]: poet and politician. Wybicki was stemming from a Pomeranian gentry family. After finishing a Jesuit school, he practised in the courts and the *Sejm* (Diet) of the *Rzeczpospolita*. His career was shaped by the sudden and radical shifts of Polish history, changing a typical provincial official into one of the most recognized historical figures of the nation. In 1768 Wybicki took part in the uprising of the Catholic gentry against Russian domination and the ‘libertinism’ of the Enlightenment (the ‘Bar Confederation’). After the failure of the uprising he emigrated to the Netherlands and studied law in Leiden. He soon changed sides in the conflict and joined the reformist political camp of King Stanisław August Poniatowski. In the 1770s and 1780s, Wybicki worked for the *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej* (Commission of National Education) and devised measures to reform the agrarian system. As a member of an enlightened court, he wrote several plays, poems and political treatises advocating the politics of his party. Wybicki spent the years of the Great Diet (1788–1791) on his estate working on operas, which he staged at home for the entertainment of his neighbors. He participated in the uprising of **Tadeusz Kościuszko** (1794) and was forced to move to France, where he joined the moderate émigré group. In 1797 he co-organized the Legions, a Polish military unit in French service. In 1806, during the French-Prussian war, Wybicki organized a Polish uprising in Wielkopolska. Later, during the Warsaw Duchy (1807–1815) and the ‘Congress Kingdom’ (after 1815), he was entrusted with various official positions in the government and the Department of Justice. During the ‘Congress Kingdom,’ Wybicki advocated liberal reforms inspired by the English political system. His writ-

ings, however, fell into oblivion and he is commonly remembered only as the author of the national anthem.

Main works: *Listy patriotyczne do Jaśnie Wielmożnego eks-kanclerza Zamoy-skiego prawa układającego pisane* [Patriotic letters to his Excellency the ex-chancellor Zamoyski, the editor of new regulations] (1777–1778); *Mysli polityczne o wolności cywilnej* [Political thoughts on civic freedom] (1775–1776); *Kulig* [Sledging cavalcade] (1783); *Zygmunt August* (1783, second edition in 1787); *Kmiotek* [A villager] (1788); *Polka* (1788); *Moje godziny szczęśliwe* [My hours of happiness] 2 vols (1803–1806); *Rozmowy i podróże ojca z dwoma synami* [Conversations and travels of a father and his two sons] (1804).

Context

After the third partition of Poland, many politicians active in the days of the Great Diet as well as in the ‘**Kościuszko** Insurrection’ were forced to leave the country, which was now divided among Russia, Prussia and Austria. France, which had entered into conflict with all three of these powers, became the natural place to work on the re-construction of an independent Polish state. The émigrés’ hopes were pinned firstly on the revolutionary government challenging the *ancien régime*. Józef Wybicki was the head of the Paris-based Polish *Agencja*, which succeeded in persuading the Directory to form the auxiliary Polish Legion under General Henryk Dąbrowski (1755–1818), veteran of the ‘**Kościuszko** Insurrection.’

Wybicki’s text was first used as the song of the Legion formed in the ephemeral Republic of Lombardy in 1797 that participated in the Italian campaign of Napoleon. In the following three years another two Polish units were formed, mostly of peasant conscripts captured by Napoleon from the Austrian army. Altogether some 25,000 men passed through their ranks. Common soldiers were encouraged to address each other and their officers as ‘Citizens,’ and were not subject to corporal punishment. The cult of the victorious Napoleon did not help Polish soldiers to “see their kinsmen’s land,” as the Mazurka puts it; the Legions were decimated in battles in Italy and Germany, and the reserves were sent to fight against the rebellion of Negro slaves on Santo Domingo (Haiti).

The text of the Mazurka expressed the political program of the Polish émigrés as well as memories of a glorious past. Its first lines contain one of the first formulations of Polish independence and political existence in terms of the ‘will of the nation.’ Years later, **Adam Mickiewicz** in his lectures held at the Collège de France, went so far as to say that these words opened the contemporary history of Europe. Leaving aside the exaggeration of the ro-

mantic poet, who saw in suffering Poland the incarnation of universal human values, the importance of Wybicki's formulation for Polish political and socio-cultural imagination is hard to overestimate. In general, the text embodies the notions of the Polish Enlightenment in the years of the Great Diet and differs considerably from the traditional 'noble' patriotism represented by conservative ideologists. The reference of the concept of 'nation' is no longer restricted to the gentry, common law and tradition. It is something to fight for, to be created (or restored) from the body of the entire ethno-cultural community.

After the period of the 'Congress Kingdom' (1815–1830), when an attempt to create a pro-tsarist national anthem was made (see **Alojzy Feliński**, *Hymn*), the *Dąbrowski Mazurka* became the unofficial anthem of the November Rising (1830–1831). In the inter-war period, after long discussions, the Mazurka became the national anthem (1926), although Polish conservatives advocated Feliński's above-mentioned hymn in one of its later versions. Both the text and the music of the Polish national anthem influenced many foreign works. The melody of the *Mazurka* was used as a motif of *Hej Slováci*, a song written by the Slovak priest, poet and historian Samuel Tomášik in 1834, later acknowledged as the anthem of all Slav 'tribes' by the Slav Congress in Prague in 1848. It also influenced the Croatian national anthem (by **Ljudevit Gaj**) and was accepted as the national anthem in communist Yugoslavia.

MG

The song of the Polish legions in Italy

Poland has not lost her life yet,
Inasmuch as we live,
What foreign power had wrested,
With swords we shall retrieve.

March on, march on Dąbrowski,
To Poland from Italy,
When we follow your command,
We shall see our kinsmen's land.

Just like Czarniecki to Poznań
Returned across the sea,

In order to save his homeland,
When Swedes sacked the country.

March on, march on...

We'll cross the Vistula, Warta,
We'll be the Poles once more,
We were shown by Bonaparte
How to triumph in the war.

March on, march on...

German, Muscovite won't defy,
When with the sword in hand,
Concord will be our password cry
As well as fatherland.

March on, march on...

Then father says to his Helen,
And to crying succumbs:
"Just listen these must be our men,
Who are beating the drums".

Polish literature from the Middle Ages to the end of the eighteenth century: A bilingual anthology, selected and translated by Michael J. Mikoś (Warszawa: Constans, 1999), pp. 596–597.

ADAMANTIOS KORAI:

REPORT ON THE PRESENT STATE OF CIVILIZATION IN GREECE

Title: *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (Report on the present state of civilization in Greece)

Originally published: Presented at a meeting of the *Société des observateurs de l'homme*, Paris, 6 January 1803, and subsequently published by them

Language: French

The excerpts used are from the original, pp. 58–65.

About the author

Adamantios Korais [1748, Chios – 1833, Paris]: medical doctor, philologist and publicist. His family sent him to Smyrna (*Tur.* Izmir, present-day Turkey) to be educated at the Evangelical School, the most well-known local Greek-Orthodox school. After graduation Korais immersed himself in the study of modern languages, as well as in Latin and ancient Greek. His father, a well-off merchant, decided to send him to Amsterdam, and Korais spent seven years there (1772–79), studying rather than running the family business. He eventually returned to Smyrna, but he did not stay long. Despite the appeals of his family, he left in 1782 for France, a journey he had long dreamed of. He studied medicine in Montpellier (1782–88) and never returned to his homeland. Instead, he settled down in Paris, where he spent the rest of his life. Influenced by the secular ideas of the French Revolution, Korais strongly believed that a similar course of development was feasible for his nation as well. The major task, in his view, was the transference of “European lights” to his “enslaved brothers.” His educational project was basically set out in the introductions—*Προλεγόμενα* (Prolegomena)—to the ancient Greek texts he published in the series *Ελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη* (Hellenic Library). His impact among the Greek Orthodox *literati* of the Ottoman Empire was immense. He also enjoyed high esteem among the French intelligentsia, and when he died he was buried in Paris as a French citizen. Meanwhile, his anti-ecclesiastical discourse has been totally erased from the collective memory; indeed, in national celebrations his picture is frequently put side by side with that of the patriarch Gregorios V, whom Korais devoted much of his energy to attacking.

Main works: *Αδελφική Διδασκαλία προς τους ευρισκομένους κατά πάσαν την οθωμανικήν επικράτειαν Γραικούς* [Fraternal instruction to all Greeks throughout the Ottoman dominion] (1798); *Traité d'Hippocrate, des airs, des eaux et des lieux*

(1800); *Σάλπισμα Πολεμιστήριον* [Trumpet-call to war] (1803); *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (1803); *Διάλογος δύο Γραικών κατοίκων της Βενετίας* [Dialogue between two Greek inhabitants of Venice] (1805); *Ελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη* [Hellenic library] (1807–1835); *Αυτοβιογραφία* [Autobiography] (1833). He also translated into Greek Beccaria's 'On crimes and punishments': *Βεκκαρίου περί αδικημάτων και ποινών* (1802).

Context

The economic take-off triggered by the Küçük Kaynarca treaty in 1774 was accompanied by an unprecedented educational and intellectual activity. The last two decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the translation of philosophical and scientific texts, and the foundation of new schools in the prosperous towns of Jannina (in Epirus), Ambelakia (in Thessaly), and elsewhere. In 1791, the Markidis-Poulios brothers published the first Greek newspaper in Vienna. Moreover, young Orthodox Greeks were now given the opportunity to travel to the West to study in greater numbers than ever before.

Adamantios Korais regarded this momentum as a starting point for the long-awaited cultural awakening of the nation, and worked hard to make his own contribution. In the critical introductions that accompanied his editions of ancient Greek authors, he reflected on the intellectual currents of his time, while also providing his compatriots with substantial knowledge of their glorious past. In his view, this knowledge would inevitably lead to the regeneration of the nation. He also left a huge body of correspondence; long letters are addressed to most of the political and military figures of the time, frequently in the form of either scholarly monographs or moral discourses where he developed his views on culture and education. In order to facilitate his task, he also came up with a linguistic idiom that kept its distance from both the vernacular and the archaic and which became known as 'the middle road.'

His 'Report' has a similar purpose. The text provided its audience with a thorough picture of the latest Greek achievements. The crucial point was the progress in education, the result of a "révolution morale," which had taken place in Greece. Korais adopted a moral stance, especially against pejorative views on the Greeks frequently expressed in European circles. By presenting evidence of Greek achievements, he sought to justify the Greeks' claim to be considered a civilized European nation.

Given the fact that he addressed a foreign audience that might not have been familiar with the complexities of the Ottoman reality, Korais was very

careful in phrasing his argument. For instance, a few years earlier, in his 'Fraternal Instruction' (see **Patriarch Anthimos**, *Paternal instruction*), he had denounced ecclesiastical conservatism, accusing it of lulling the nation into compliance; but this time he was more cautious in his expressions regarding the Church. He was equally cautious in depicting Greek sentiments towards Europe. In his view, the Greeks, who considered that the Europeans had appropriated and preserved the ancient Hellenic heritage, were also convinced that the moment would come when the Europeans would repay the benefit they had received from the ancient Greeks.

Besides its significance for Greek nationalist ideology, the 'Report' is a very early statement of themes that would recur later on in many similar manifestos in Europe, Asia and Africa. On the evidence of this text, Greek nationalism may be considered the first expression of nationalism to appear outside Western Christendom among a community ruled by non-Christians and itself hitherto hostile to Western notions. As in other such texts, the crucial elements are the appeal to a glorious past, a belief in an even more glorious future, and the call for a radical reform of present institutions.

At the same time, this essay eloquently introduces most of the stereotypes which were to dominate Greek historiography until very recently: the dark years of the Ottoman yoke; the awakening of the nation through its contact with the European Enlightenment; the intimate relation of modern Greeks with their ancient past; the progressive character of the bourgeois mercantile groups; and the heroic character of the Greek people. Korais' impact on Greek scholarly circles was immense. Even if his 'middle road' language was eventually rejected in favor of a more radically archaic linguistic norm, he is considered, together with **Rigas**, a major contributor to the regeneration of the nation. Interestingly, in the twentieth century Korais was appropriated not only by nationalists but also by leftist intellectuals who used his discourse as the theoretical framework for the modernization of Greek society. Moreover, the leftists could support their claim for a socialist movement on the grounds that the bourgeois society had become a reality with the War of Independence. This line of argument has been adopted by a historiographical tradition that extends from Giannis Kordatos (see **Georgios Skliros**, *Our social question*) in the 1920s to Philippos Iliou in the 1980s.

Report on the present state of civilization in Greece

[...] In the middle of the last century, the Greeks constituted a miserable nation who suffered the most horrible oppression and experienced the nefarious effects of a long period of slavery. There yet remained in the nation's midst a very small number of schools in which a very small number of Greeks acquired only the most superficial knowledge of the Greek language. The rest of the nation was condemned to the crassest ignorance and to the readings of books, acquaintance with which is worse than non-acquaintance. About that period, learning in a large part of Europe takes a new orientation, to which the French philosophers more than others contributed. The *Encyclopédie* was the effect of this new orientation, becoming afterwards the reason for its continuance. Some rays of this enlightenment escape and penetrate into Greece. Greece does not close her eyes to these rays; but she is still too weak and too poor fully to welcome and withstand their brilliance. Extraordinary circumstances on the one hand open new channels for trade in the Levant, and on the other bring about a war which ends by dissipating all the prestige which surrounded Ottoman power.

Following these two developments the Greeks, hitherto stricken, raise their heads in proportion as their oppressors' arrogance abates and their despotism becomes somewhat mitigated. This is the veritable period of Greek awakening. Minds, emerging from their lethargy, are amazed to observe this deplorable state; and that same national vanity which had hitherto prevented them from seeing it, now increases their amazement and irritation. For the first time the nation surveys the hideous spectacle of its ignorance and trembles in measuring with the eye the distance separating it from its ancestors' glory. This painful discovery, however, does not precipitate the Greeks into despair: *We are the descendants of Greeks*, they implicitly told themselves, *we must either try to become again worthy of this name, or we must not bear it*. From that moment the ancient schools began to be reconstituted and new ones came to swell their numbers; young men expatriate themselves in order to learn the languages and acquire the learning of the enlightened nations of Europe; they are hardly back home when they are placed in charge of national education; through their oral tuition, and their translation of various foreign books, the nation becomes educated and increasingly feels the need of more education. All this takes place slowly, but uninterruptedly. The French Revolution comes at last and, as might be expected, does not fail to give a new impulse to the moral revolution which had already begun among the Greeks, an impulse all the

stronger in being accompanied by a hope for the improvement of Greek fortunes. Spirits become restless from this new shock and attain such exaltation as to produce prodigies of valor in a few places and vast plans over the greater extent of Greece. The Greeks, seeing the astonishing successes of the French armies as simply the effects of enlightenment, seek, proportionately to their admiration for these successes, to multiply educational openings. The translation of foreign books, begun in the first period of the nation's awakening, has never been carried on with greater vigor than during and after the French Revolution. It may be said without exaggeration that during the ten years of this Revolution, which were also the last ten years of the last century, more books containing teachings in various subjects appeared in Greece than had appeared during all the time that elapsed from the destruction of the Eastern Empire. The French Revolution is at an end, and some time before this Revolution the Russians had agreed to make peace with the Turks; but the effects which these two events produced over Greek minds subsist; and it is the less probable that they would disappear now that the Greeks have more financial resources and are more educated. The small number of books, ignorance of printing techniques, and bad communications formerly prevented the people from being enlightened and from recovering the knowledge they had lost. Now it is easier to transmit knowledge from one country to another than to transport their respective products and staples. And, in fact, for some years now the Greeks have added the commerce of science to their ordinary trade. From all over Europe, and particularly from France, they export books and knowledge just as they export cloth, metalwork, and other products of European industry. The only thing that prevents them from making this commerce as extensive as it could be is a certain apprehension of the government; a consideration dictated by prudence and by the way in which this government treats enlightenment.

Such is the present state of Greece; such are the sentiments of the present generation of modern Greeks. When I took up my pen in order to describe this state, a struggle began within me, which ended only when I put it down. Truth, with a strict voice, charged me with the duty of presenting the facts as they were; the motherland, bent under the yoke, lifted tear-filled eyes and, showing me her lacerated breast, conjured me, in return for having given me birth and education, not to reveal to the strangers' eye the truth even of her past state. I am justified in saying that I emerge victorious from this struggle having betrayed neither truth nor the motherland. O truth! Do not be afraid that I would soil my pen with lies; O my mother-

land! If I were tempted to speak ill of you, my pen would drop a thousand times from my hands before writing a single word. Your past faults are no longer yours, and I have recalled them only in order to emphasize the more the merits of your present conduct. If never to fall is beautiful, a virtue more appropriate to man's nature is that he should attempt to rise up from a fall. Now that you are making efforts to rise up, what does it matter that a variety of circumstances precipitated you into a pit of misfortunes? The deeper this pit, the more your efforts to emerge from it will be appreciated, and the more glorious will be the success that must crown them. Your fall is one which many other peoples have also experienced; but if you continue to behave as you have been doing for the last few years, you supply to History's brush the first picture of a people's regeneration. The fall for which you have been so much reproached has not laid you so low as not to have left you some memory of your past greatness.

I have taken up my pen, O my motherland, only in order to be the first to announce that your regeneration has begun, to all Europe and particularly to that hospitable and philanthropic nation in the bosom of which I have found a new motherland since I had the misfortune of being separated from you. It is a debt that I am repaying you, and also a precaution I have thought wise to take for the sake of your future glory. If perchance some magnanimous nation wanted to extend a helping hand to you and to second your efforts, let that nation know that she will be fully entitled to your gratitude and to that of the whole human race, but let her also know in advance that she would not be the first to have dissipated the darkness that enveloped modern Greece. It is on your own, O my motherland, and without foreign help that, as soon as circumstances allowed it, you have opened your eyes to the light, have sought it everywhere and introduced it in your midst. You have thus proved to the world that if unhappy circumstances may ruin the most fertile soil, yet they cannot deprive it of its natural fertility; a light rain and a little cultivation will suffice for all the riches that used to cover it to germinate anew. No doubt, those happy times when you will be the rival of ancient Greece and even of the most enlightened European nations have not yet arrived for you; but the manner in which you have begun, the ardor and perseverance shown by your young students, the zeal of your wealthy men, all proclaim that you will not always be what you had been for the last few centuries. In the new career that you have opened up for yourself, you have already taken too many steps for you to be able to retreat. As for myself, if I am still clinging to a life which is poisoned by the bitterness of the ills that afflict you, it is only in the hope of seeing you take up once again your proper rank among the

nations. In exhibiting your present conduct to the eyes of the observers of Man, I render justice to the truth, to you and to the philanthropy of my respected colleagues, who will not fail to interest themselves in your fate.

Translated by Elie Kedourie in Elie Kedourie ed., *Nationalism in Asia and Africa* (New York: Meridian Books, 1970), pp. 153–188.

GYÖRGY BESSENYEI: ORATION ON THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE COUNTRY

Title: *Beszéd az országnak tárgyárul* (Oration on the subject-matter of the country)

Originally published: Written around 1802. First (partial) edition in *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (1817); second – abridged – edition: *ibid.* (1823). First full edition: *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* (1934)

Language: Hungarian

The excerpts used are from Bessenyei György, *Prózai munkái* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986), pp. 79–81, 83.

About the author

György Bessenyei [1747, Bercel (north-east Hungary) – 1811, Pusztakovácsi (today part of Bakonszeg, north-east Hungary)]: writer, dramatist, poet, translator. His family belonged to the middle nobility. Bessenyei attended the Sárospatak Calvinist College for five years but was forced to abandon his studies for financial reasons. In 1765 he joined Maria Theresa's Royal Hungarian Lifeguard in Vienna, where two of his brothers had already been serving. Through his own efforts he obtained a wide knowledge of English and French philosophy (especially Pope, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Holbach). He resigned from the Guard in 1773 with a pension, and became educational supervisor of the Hungarian Reformed Church. He converted to Catholicism in 1779 and became a librarian at the Court. In 1787 he settled in Pusztakovácsi and lived on the income from his estates until the end of his life. In 1790, after serious clashes with the censorship, he withdrew from the public sphere and, while continuing to write, he did not publish any more. He spent his last years in difficult economic circumstances, withdrawn and forgotten. The Hungarian literary 'revival' is traditionally dated from the publication of his *Ágis tragédiája* in 1772. Besides poems, tragedies, philosophical poems (such as a reworking of Alexander Pope's *Essay on man*), historical studies and translations, he authored a large number of reports and educational projects. Although in the Hungarian Reform Age (from the 1820s to 1848) he was occasionally referred to as the forefather of the national revival, the importance of his lifework in the history of Hungarian culture and literature came to be fully appreciated only in the twentieth century.

Main works: *Ágis tragédiája* [The tragedy of Agis] (1772); *Hunyadi László tragédiája* [The tragedy of László Hunyadi] (1772); *Az embernek próbája* [Essay on

man] (1772); *Buda tragédiája* [Buda's tragedy] (1773); *Der Amerikaner* [The American] (1774); *Anyai oktatás* [Maternal teaching] (1777); *A magyar néző* [The Hungarian spectator] (1777); *A philosophus* [The philosopher] (1777); *Hunyadi János élete és viselt dolgai* [The life and deeds of János Hunyadi] (1778); *A törvénynek útja* [The way of the law] (1778); *Magyarság* [Hungarianness] (1778); *A holmi* [The what-not] (essays, 1779); *Egy magyar társaság iránt való jámbor szándék* [Pious intentions in regard to a Hungarian association] (written in 1781, published in 1790).

Context

The first wave of Enlightenment ideas reached the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire in the 1760–1770s. One of the major catalysts was the Royal Lifeguard established by Maria Theresa in 1760. The young noblemen serving in the Guard formed a number of informal circles cultivating the—mostly French—literary and philosophical fashions of the day. Significantly, while the most prominent scholars of the time (such as the—ethnic Croatian—economic theoretician Miklós Skerlecz; the prominent historian and specialist of *Statistik*—i.e., applied political science—György Márton Kovachich; the socio-economical reformer Gergely Berzeviczy; and the professor of aesthetics Lajos Schedius) continued to write in Latin or in German even up to the turn of the nineteenth century, Bessenyei and his peers opted for Hungarian and thus laid the basis of a vernacular cultural movement. In the 1770–1780s Bessenyei became a well-known cultural figure, promoting his Enlightenment philosophical convictions in his dramas, writing pamphlets, and taking part in educational policy-making. He urged the use of the Hungarian language instead of Latin and German in schools and called for a thorough language reform. Finally, he also devised a plan for the establishment of a Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

In contrast to the nobility-based Enlightenment of the 1770s, the next decade saw the rise of a new group who came to prominence in the period of the clash of the bureaucratic reformism of Emperor Joseph II with a growing national counter-reaction. After the death of the Emperor, the revival of parliamentarism under Leopold II (1790–92) created an opportunity of fusing the ‘gravaminal discourse’ of the estates with the more modern ideas of ‘national sovereignty.’ One of the key demands of this political movement was promoting the vernacular at the expense of Latin, which was until then used as the official language of administration and instruction, and German, which was favored by Joseph II as the dominant language of the Empire.

As the constitutional and cultural reforms devised by the Diet of 1790–1791 were swept aside by the regime of Francis I (1792–1835), the protagonists of the younger generation, many of them influenced by the radical political ideas coming from revolutionary France, became involved in an active opposition movement. This culminated in the ‘Jacobin conspiracy’ (1793–95), directed by the ‘double-agent’ Ignác Martinovics (1755–1795), which was eventually crushed by the Viennese secret police. In consequence, many members of this generation were executed or suffered persecution. After 1790 Bessenyei also withdrew from public life and, especially after the escalation of the French Revolution and the subsequent conservative counter-reaction in the Habsburg Empire, he was completely marginalized. Nevertheless, the cultural movement, albeit in a less political form, resurfaced after the turn of the century. As the repression became somewhat relaxed, various attempts were made to create new cultural institutions, such as the National Library (1802). Bessenyei was also invited to participate in these activities by the new ‘leader’ of the generation, the poet and literary scholar Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831), who had just been released from prison, having been sentenced for his involvement in the ‘Jacobin conspiracy.’

Bessenyei intended the ‘Oration’ to be a preface to a selection of his works, or to the historical essay he considered his *chef-d’oeuvre*, ‘The history of Rome.’ The original title of the text was ‘On the subject-matter of the work’ but, as it developed beyond the original thematic and rhetorical framework, he crossed out the word ‘work’ (*munka*) and inserted ‘the country’ (*ország*). Using as his starting point the decline of civilization after the fall of the Roman Empire and the ambivalent status of the Latin language in Hungarian culture, he set out to elaborate on the broader problem of the relationship of nationality, culture and the vernacular language.

The essay combines a self-critical tone, blaming the nation for lagging behind in the advancement of civilization, with elements of the traditional discourse of national specificity, linking the national culture to the ‘ancient virtue’ of the noble Hungarian nation. On the whole, however, he conceded that the civilizational achievements of the Hungarian nation were relatively recent, isolated, and unsatisfactory from the perspective of the Enlightenment. At the same time, the traditional basis of national culture and politics, the middle-nobility, was sunk in provincialism: they complacently claim to follow the ancient constitution, but this does not mean real cultivation. Science is not an idle pastime: the general advancement of learning has extremely beneficial effects on civic life as well, as it is much harder to instigate an educated person to revolt against the regime (in the text Bessenyei refers to

the Transylvanian Romanian peasant rebellion of Horea and Cloșca in 1784 as a horrible example of the results of the lack of civility). Therefore, the task is “to lift the people’s mind to its own dignity.”

The way to achieve this is through the vernacularization of science, in other words by developing a translation literature. Bessenyei gives a historical argument to support this claim: after the fall of the Roman Empire secular science was completely marginalized and the domination of three dead languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) seriously hindered the advancement of learning. Only in the last centuries did the nations gradually come to be emancipated from this plight. Those nations are the most advanced which managed to reach the highest level of vernacularization. National culture and national existence are interrelated: if a nation is unable to create its own specific culture, mediated by cultural institutions like the Academy of Sciences, it faces imminent death and dissolution. Thus the creation of vernacular science can be read as the most important life-program and the symbolic ‘testament’ of Bessenyei.

This text is one of Bessenyei’s last works and has some elements which came close to the cultural discourse of the ‘awakening’ of the 1820–1830s. Besides the calls to civility and cultural refinement, the rhetoric absorbed new *topoi*, like the ‘death of the nation,’ which show the emergence of a new sensitivity to the national community. This is probably one of the main reasons for the fact that in comparison to the other texts of his later period, which were almost completely neglected, the ‘Oration’ had a strong reception, being re-edited twice in the 1810–20s. It is mostly due to this text that Bessenyei’s work came to be regarded, by Ferenc Toldy (1805–1875), the most important literary historian of the period, as the direct precursor of the cultural project of the Reform Age. As a matter of fact, although in his political treatises he used Rousseau’s *Contrat social* to underpin the Hungarian nobility’s claim to sovereignty, his linguistic definition of the national community opened up the space for a new discourse of identity integrating the peasantry as well into the ‘body of the nation.’ Nevertheless, there is an important difference between Bessenyei’s concern with the national language and the ensuing linguistic nationalism of the later period. Although he ‘constructed’ the national community as the natural framework of existence, for him language seemed to be still an instrument, important for the cultivation of sciences, rather than an aim in itself.

BT

Oration on the subject-matter of the country

[...] O how gladly we would read and study in Hungarian, if only we had works to read and study, you reply, but we encounter no erudition, pleasure or wisdom in them. That perennially monotonous, always temperate and pious style that casts the whole extent of your moral being under a humble submissiveness cannot provide any stimulation to your yearnings. So there is nothing to read in your language? But why not? Because you plant nothing in it. Is it because of your mother-tongue that you can't read anything in it? Without a mind, speech is but an empty sound. It is merely an instrument for our qualities and it ascends when you lift it. If it is weak and confined, it is not because of the language itself, but because you made it so. Put into it something readable and you will have something to read in it. The force, dignity and depth of your language expresses the force, dignity and depth of your morals, and it is certain that if your mother-tongue is cowardly, then so are you.

Whoever elevates the language of his homeland brings the esteem of his Nation into a luminous light. You will never find any loftiness and depth in the language of a base-born, small-witted Nation anywhere. You may only regard it as your filial duty to do honor to the blood that you were born with, that keeps you alive. I shall at least call out from my grave to posterity a thousand years hence that I have sacrificed all my life to this cause: whatever I could accomplish is here and will remain here; as for what I could not, my intentions shall justify me, for the aspiration towards fine and great things is itself ennobling despite the lack of sufficient strength.

Off with you! Hush! you may say at last with a great oath. *The glory of your language was laid to rest by pagan hands at Mohács!*¹ So it be! But at least forgive me that I do all I can so that we may not be deprived of the vision, the knowledge of ourselves; that I am cleansing and wiping the mirror of your Nation so that the flies buzzing around it may not deprive it of its light and the filth of time may not haze its crystal color! I strive to live so that we may not die for good. It is a sad decline for a Nation to perish—a Nation that nature brought forth in order to boast of brilliant feats, showering her gifts upon her with liberal hands, gifts which fate sank into the deep abyss of destiny, concealing them from the world.

¹ Reference to the Battle of Mohács (1526), where the Hungarian army was crushed by the Ottomans, resulting in the collapse of the late medieval Hungarian monarchy.

It is of no avail that you accept with stern philosophy, common sense and cold blood that all men are men, that the whole Human Race is a single Nation; for it would nevertheless be hard for you to re-acquaint your Hungarian self as a Jew, a Gypsy or a Saracen. You are brazed with your Hungarian self to your National being, which instigates you not to seek glory under the name of Pole, Frenchman, Russian or Spaniard. You long for glory as a Hungarian. This longing is so deeply rooted in you that you don't even want to find salvation as a Neapolitan, a Serb or a Lapp but as a Hungarian son of your Nation, so that all the angels of the heavens may know you as a Hungarian. And every Nation in the world sees and feels this way, for it is only natural for Man to love himself.

However slight and ignominious your origins are claimed to be, since it is you, you are nevertheless bound to it through your blood. Let the foolish Iordanes² claim that the devils came out of hell and begot with our women the Huns as well as the Scythians. But casting this aside as idle folly, you will still hold Attila to be a great man with his Nation, and will not be ashamed to believe yourself to be the descendant of one who trod the world underfoot and to whom even glorious Rome with all the triumphs of Christianity paid tribute. He may have been a rapacious brute. But were the other Nations any milder in the beginning?

It is time, dear Sirs, for the mind of the Hungarian Nation to be clarified in her mother-tongue regarding its objects! What are we waiting for? How should those who are not familiar with the languages of Europe be guided if they cannot see their reasons in their mother-tongue? How could people study in the villages, where the countless multitude of the People dwells? Wherever all sciences are diffused in the mother-tongue of the Nation, the whole country turns into a house of learning and an Academy. This is what is needed. An Academy of twelve men should be set up, who would be paid solely to translate works from Latin, French, German and Greek into Hungarian and to swell the number of our books—this would do more good to the refinement of the country's mind than a thousand schools that merely show you the way to go and then leave you there all by yourself. Yet no money is given to an Academy that, taming nature, frees it from its brutish traits; people donate instead to the kind of school that is called a military training school teaching the craft of slaughter and arson. I know that arms are indeed

² Sixth-century Gothic historian who wrote on the barbarian nations migrating to Europe, an important source of information about the history of the Huns, who were considered the ancestors of modern Hungarians.

necessary, but there is an even greater need for an instrument to remove the propensity to blood-shedding and lay it aside; or, even if Man does continue to kill because of his human nature, to mitigate the danger of this. [...]

My supplications, my longings and my hopes hearten me that the Genius of such freedom shall emerge from the blood of the Nation. Take this hope of mine for a mere dream; but let my heart cherish it, for it is sweet to it. Be it a dream, be it real... if it pleases me, it is all the same. A sweet dream is better than bitter reality. Even if I do not, posterity may live to see their glory, their morals shine high amidst the dignity of accomplished languages and lie in the depth of their wisdom. I am dying with this staggering hope; leaving to my Nation from the brink of my grave my last supplication, so that it may wander on through the present writing amidst her Heavens!

Translated by Dávid Oláh

JÁN HRDLIČKA: THE SLOVAK NATION

Title: *Slovenský národ* (The Slovak nation)

Originally published: in *Staré noviny literárního umění* (Old journal of literary art), 1785, pp. 721–741

Language: Czech

The essential part of the article was published in Ján Tibenský, ed., *Chvály a obrany národa slovenského* (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1965), pp. 121–126.

About the author

Ján Hrdlička [1741, Modra (*Hun.* Modor, *Ger.* Modern, present-day Slovakia) – 1810, Maglód (central Hungary)]: Lutheran cleric, writer, and publicist. He studied at the Lutheran lyceum in Pressburg (*Hun.* Pozsony, *Slo.* Prešporok, today Bratislava, Slovakia) and Lučenec (*Hun.* Losonc). Between 1768 and 1770 he read theology at the University of Jena. After completing his studies, he served as a chaplain in his native town. In 1781 he was appointed vicar in the Moravian town of Vsetín (*Ger.* Wsetin), and from 1784 up until his death he was a vicar among the Slovak Lutherans in Maglód and also a member of the Lutheran seniority in Pest. He was an enthusiastic advocate of the ideas of the Enlightenment, which led him to support the reforms of Emperor Joseph II, although worried that the extension of the German language might happen at the expense of the other vernaculars. In 1785 he joined the *Erudita societas slavica* (Slavonic learned society), founded by the writer Ondrej Plachý, and assisted in publishing the Society's monthly, *Staré noviny literárního umění*, printed in Banská Bystrica (*Ger.* Neusohl, *Hun.* Besztercebánya). Hrdlička was one of the adherents of the concept of a Czecho-Slovak linguistic and ethnic unity, and, like his co-believers, he promoted biblical Czech, the language of the Slovak protestants, not just as a liturgical but also as a literary language. Besides his political engagement, he devoted his life to his pastoral duties, and wrote religious literature including prayers, hymns and sermons.

Main works: *Píseň nová, ku které Sion Vsetínský evangelický roku P. 1781 probuzoval* [New song, to which the evangelical Zion of Vsetín A. D. 1781 stirred up] (1783); *Veselá nábožnost'* [Joyful religiosity] (1783); *Navedení rodičů ku křesťanskému dítku svých milování* [Directions to parents to treat their children with Christian love] (1783); *Knížečka pro čeled' křesťanskou* [Booklet for Christian servants]

(1785); *Slovenský národ* [The Slovak nation], (1785); *O vznešenosti řeči české, neb vůbec slovenské* [Concerning the grandeur of the Czech language, or the Slavic in general], (1785–1786); *Radost Siona Maglódského* [Joy of the Zion of Maglód] (1791).

Context

The wide-ranging economic, administrative and cultural reforms under Maria Theresa and Joseph II had an immense impact on the people in Upper Hungary. As a consequence of their centralization efforts, German started to drive out Latin as the language of official communication and high culture in Hungary. At the same time, however, the enlightened absolutist regime promoted the cultivation of the national languages as a means of improving the general education of the people. These reformist policies, together with the Herderian ideas, which regarded language a constitutive element of the national community, led Slovak intellectuals as well to devote attention to their own vernacular.

However, unlike other nations, such as the Magyars or Czechs, the Slovaks had neither their own tradition of statehood nor a normative literary language. Hence, two streams emerged during the second half of the eighteenth century with respect to the issue of language and the national question. Roman-Catholic intellectuals (Anton Bernolák, Juraj Fándly, Ján Hollý), particularly active in such cultural centers as Pressburg and Trnava (*Ger.* Tyrnau, *Hun.* Nagyszombat), proposed their own version of the literary language (*berňolákovčina*) based on the West-Slovakian dialect. They also believed in the “tribal” separateness of the Slovaks as a distinctive part of a supposed Slav nation. In contrast, the Protestant intellectuals (Juraj Ribay, Ján Hrdlička, Juraj Palkovič), also based in Pressburg and other West-Slovakian towns, promoted the Czech language used in the sixteenth century Kralice Bible of the Bohemian Brethren as the basis of the Slovak literary language, since this was the language Slovak Lutherans had used in their liturgy for two centuries. At the same time, they envisaged a union of Czechs and Slovaks forming one distinct Czechoslovak tribe within the greater Slav nation.

Besides language, the historical reasoning that asserted the antiquity and ethno-cultural peculiarity of Slovaks also played an important role. It appeared already in the mid-eighteenth century in the form of “*apologiae*” written by Slovak intellectuals who took issue with the Hungarian discourse of political nationhood, which claimed the right to rule over the Slav tribes “subjugated” in the Middle Ages. A growing interest in antiquity led

to the construction of particular historical theories and legends, drawing on the common European pool of post-humanist historiographical themes and methods. Among Slovak historians like Ján Severini (1716–1789) and Juraj Sklenár (1746–1790), the image of the Great Moravian Empire of the ninth century became the main subject and support for the nascent Slovak national movement. One of the most important books proving the supposedly ancient origin of the Slovaks was *Historia gentis Slavae* by Juraj (or Cz. Jiří) Papánek (published in 1780), the first synthetic account of early Slovak history. It revived the tradition regarding the ‘Slav missionaries’ Cyril and Methodius (ninth century Byzantine missionaries who Christianized the Great Moravian Empire) and championed the thesis of the Great Moravian Empire—pictured as the common state of Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks—as an ancient state providing Slovaks with a historical tradition of statehood.

Written in the context of the intensifying debate on imperial versus national allegiance provoked by Joseph’s efforts at homogenization, Hrdlička’s article was yet another *apologia* presenting a characterology of the Slovaks, taking, nevertheless, full advantage of the up-to-date historical argumentation as presented by Papánek. Hrdlička outlined the ethno-genesis of the Slavs that was supposed to have originated, as with the other Indo-European nations, in the family of Japheth, the youngest son of Noah. He criticized those who derived the name Slav (Slovak) from the word ‘slave’ (*Lat.* *sclavus*) and instead traced its etymology to the word ‘glory’ (Cz. ‘sláva’). In the spirit of Papánek’s work, Hrdlička introduced a pantheon of ‘Slovak’ kings reaching back to the fall of Great Moravia at the outset of the tenth century. He also stressed the historical role the Slovaks played in the defense of Hungary throughout the Middle Ages. In the second part of the article, the author enumerated the positive characteristics of the Slovaks, such as their diligence and sharpness. He condemned those who were ashamed of their vernacular and their nation, and appealed to the nation’s elite to look to the cultivation of the language and education of the common people.

Hrdlička’s notions regarding the name of the nation recall the way of thinking of the so-called Baroque Slavism developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whose characteristic features, namely, the idea of Slav unity and the weak identity of individual Slav nations, are also present in Hrdlička’s text. Hence, for both Slavs and Slovaks he uses one word (*Slovák, slovenský*) whose meaning is usually identifiable only from the context. Sometimes he writes about the whole “Slav” nation, sometimes he means just the “Slavs” (i.e., Slovaks) living in Upper Hungary.

In the course of the development of the Slovak national movement towards mass mobilization, Hrdlička's intellectual position and the entire way of thinking of the Lutheran intellectual elite formulated at the turn of the nineteenth century were eventually relegated to the background. Biblical Czech was replaced by a standardized Slovak language and the thematization of the antiquity of the nation was supplemented by arguments from natural law. However, efforts to seek the ancient roots of the Slovak nation and statehood, however much contested, remained, in one way or another, present in modern Slovak political thought, and the legacy of the Great Moravian Empire came to be appropriated by the Catholic integrist nationalism of the twentieth century.

PL-MK

The Slovak nation

As far as the youngest son of Noah, Japheth, is concerned, he is the father of all the northern and western nations. From his son [...] Magog descended the Hettites or *Seclabi*, *Sclabi*, or *Slavi*, that is to say, Slovaks. Who are then called Slavi for their glorious [*slavný*] deeds. Therefore, as the Slovak nation preceded the Slovak language, in Latin this nation of ours is called *Slavi* not because of the word 'glory' [*sláva*], but because of our glorious [*slavný*] deeds. [...]

In a word, even though innumerable historians argue about these things, the truth is as follows: because surely the descendants of Japheth settled the western and northern countries, therefore, our glorious nation, which even today lives in this land, surely descended from Japheth himself. It is clear then that our Slovak language is understandable by the Russian, Polish, Czech, Moravian, Illyrian, Croatian, Dalmatian, Carniolic, Vandal [sic!], and Dvadic nations, because this, our nation, is in the same way the father of all these nations as Latin is the father of Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Therefore, shame on all those who instead of *Slavi* call our nation, so widespread and through glorious deeds uplifted, *Sclavi*, that is, from the German word *Sklave*, 'slave,' and believe that they surely were called such since they were to some extent enslaved by the Germans. [...]

There is no need to elaborate at length on the size of the kingdom of the glorious Slovak nation. Some historians claim that the kingdom was very small, some believe that there had never been any. Nevertheless, we leave all that aside, and firmly believe together with the famous historian of the

Slovak nation, Jiří Papánek, that the ancient Slovak kingdom included the Danube, Morava, Váh, Hron, Nitra, Turiec, Orava, Ipel', Hornád,¹ Sajó, Poprad and other small and large bodies of waters. All those who know where the sources of these rivers are and where their confluence at the sea is can judge how widespread the kingdom of the Slovak nation once was.

Starting about four centuries before the birth of Christ, the Slovak nation was known to the Greeks and the Romans, or Latins, under various and numerous names, for instance: *Marcomanni*, *Sarmatae*, *Scithae* [...]

The Slovaks in our dear Hungarian homeland live in the great counties of Nitra, Bystrica, and Košice;² but in every corner of the Hungarian Land one can find Slovaks living there. The Slovak nation illustrates the blessing of God: multiply and be fruitful. All those who travel among the Slovaks, live among them and know their mores, are bound to admit that they are respectful, good-hearted, merciful, pleasant, hospitable, unboastful, sincere and truthful, reject pharisaic justice and a love for wanton gossip, and they are determined enemies of adulators, denunciators and scoffers. Though even here one can find tare among the wheat, but what is one grain of tare among thousands of grains of wheat? Or what is one foul goat among so many humble sheep and lambs? Or what is one rotten apple among the millions of healthy ones?

Anyone who has in his lifetime, at least once, traveled in counties like Orava, Liptov, Gemer, Hont, Turiec, and Trenčín³ has seen how our dear Slovaks must, by the great sweat of their brows, earn their daily bread in the fields, meadows, and gardens of the steep, high mountains and hills. It is well known that one part of the people works at home during the entire summer, while the other part works in neighboring lands on meadows, fields and vineyards, so industriously and swiftly that one can rightly say that the population of the lower lands, which is mostly Hungarian, survives only from the profit earned by the labor of the Slovaks. All those who know the state and conditions of the Slovaks must, willingly or not, admit that these people are bound to be the most industrious of all by their very nature. And they truly are! They are born to industrious parents and are prevented from spending their lives in idleness by the nature of the country

¹ Hun. Vág, Garam, Nyitra, Túróc, Árva, Ipoly, Hernád.

² Hun. Nyitra, Beszterce, Kassa.

³ Hun. Árva, Liptó, Gömör, Hont, Túróc, Trencsény.

in which they live, which forces them to work hard if they are to survive. The Slovak, as a serf, has to live where even sparrows would not find a single seed. Still, he lives well! He has more wealth, more affection for literature, and far better dress than a Lowlander [*Dolnozemčan*] who wears his greasy coat all winter and summer, even though for the little work he does on his field he receives rich reward. When the Slovak wants to get any return at all from the earth, he must, first, many times, drag out the stones, then bring up the soil and add the manure and all that he must—on account of the mountainous character of the country—carry on his own shoulders (since he cannot access his land by carts and cattle). Nonetheless, the Slovaks do not allow themselves to be distracted from their work—therefore, all those who consider this and similar issues, cannot believe that the Slovaks are prone to idleness, but rather they have to admit that diligence, zeal and industry, in general, are their natural virtues. Can it be believed that the entire beehive should be considered lazy and idle when a wasp can be found among the bees? It is often said that bees surpass all other animals in their industriousness, but this virtue of the bees is limited merely to the summer time. But the Slovaks work in summer so they can sustain themselves in winter, and then in winter they work so they do not suffer from hunger in summer. They have no rest from their labor. In winter one part of the people stays at home: they prepare timber for summer, industriously repair their little homestead, prepare brewed spirits, beer and malzbier to cheer themselves and engage in all kind of other useful tasks at home. The other part of the people travel here and there on foot with their belongings, so they can give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's, and to earn a living for those left at home. In a word: the Slovak is by nature God's industrious creature; therefore, he who attributes idleness to this glorious nation as its characteristic feature clearly shows that he does not know the nation nor its condition and that he, instead of a healthy way of thinking, prefers the principle of *A Specie ad Genus*, that is to say, he believes that merely because one can find tare among the wheat, all the wheat is tare. All those who were once a teacher of the Slovak youth have to concede that this nation is sharp-witted and well-versed in acquiring languages. Particularly, as the Slovaks are used to the versatility of the Slovak language, they are able, once they have learned a foreign language, to use it properly. Indeed, this nation is to such extent inclined towards Enlightenment that this goal can be reached with ease. For the reason that the Slovaks love all foreign languages, they would prove capable of learning German as well.

Much more could be said about the Glory of our Slovak nation, but intentionally I hereby close my oration and ask each and every distinguished Slovak whether this nation does not deserve even the most learned and the most famous philosophers, aristocrats, and, yes, even the highest authority to make the Enlightenment of the Slovaks their task.

Translated by Petr Roubal and Gordon MacLean

ANTONÍN PUCHMAJER: ODE TO JOHN ŽIŽKA OF TROCNOV

Title: *Óda na Jana Žižku z Trocnova* (Ode to John Žižka of Trocnov)

Originally published: A. J. Puchmajer, *Nowé Básně*, vol. 4, Prague: 1802

Language: Czech

The text used is from Jaroslav Vlček, ed., *Almanachy Antonína Jaroslava Puchmajera IV* (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1921) pp. 60–66.

About the author

Antonín Jaroslav Puchmajer [1769, Týn nad Vltavou (*Ger.* Moldauthein, southern Bohemia) – 1820, Prague]: poet, translator and Roman Catholic priest. The son of a currier and merchant, he learned German only at a Piarist grammar school in Budweis (*Cz.* České Budějovice). He read philosophy at Prague where he was influenced by professors promoting the writing of original German literature (Karl Heinrich Seibt, August Gottlieb Meissner, and Ignatz Cornova). He began to write in German, but was allegedly persuaded by his friend Šebestián Hněvkovský to change over to Czech. They founded the first group of poets (called “Puchmajerians,” or the “first new-Czech poetic school”) promoting the writing of original literature in Czech. For more than twenty years Puchmajer was a collaborator and editor of the second volume of **Josef Dobrovský**’s German-Czech dictionary (1821). After taking holy orders, he served as a parish priest in several small towns in Bohemia, where he also promoted a number of cultural activities. At his initiative the first readers’ society in the Bohemian Lands was founded in Radnice near Pilsen (*Cz.* Plzeň). As a poet, Puchmajer wrote verse in the Classicist and Rococo style typical of his time. He wrote Anacreontic verse (Rococo hedonist poetry of fixed form) and idyllic verse, patriotic and religious odes, fables, and reference works on poetics. He translated from many European languages. In his translations from Russian and Polish he stressed the need to adapt Czech literature to Slavic models. So when working on his greatest translation, Montesquieu’s *Le Temple de Gnide*, Puchmajer used the earlier Polish translation by Józef Szymanowski as his basic source of reference. Puchmajer also wrote a Russian grammar textbook in which he advocated an orthographic concordance of Slavic languages.

Main works: *Pravopis rusko-český* [Russian-Czech orthography] (1805); *Lehrgebäude der russischen Sprache* [A grammar of the Russian language] (1820); *Románi Čib, das ist Grammatik und Wörterbuch der Zigeunersprache nebst einigen*

Fabeln in derselben. Dazu als Anhang die Hantýrka oder die českische Diebsprache [Románi Čib, that is, a grammar and dictionary of the Gypsy language with some fables in that language, and an appendix of 'hantýrka' or Czech thieves' cant] (1821); *Rýmovník aneb Rýmovní slovník* [A Rhyming dictionary], ed. by J. V. Sedláček, (1824); *Nedělní kázání* [Sunday sermons] (1825); *Sváteční kázání* [Holiday sermons] (1826); *Básně 1, 2* [Poetry, vols. 1 and 2] (1833 and 1836).

Context

As vernacular languages started to claim the role previously played by Latin or other languages of 'high' culture during the eighteenth century, it was considered important that verse should be produced in the vernacular. Following German examples, Czech patriots conceived the cultivation of language and the consequent efforts to produce a high literature as one of their most important aims. Puchmajer met **Josef Dobrovský** while studying theology in Prague. He worked with him for several years and appropriated Dobrovský's prosodic reform. The latter consisted in the recognition that Czech poetry should be governed metrically by accent rather than syllable length. Unlike Dobrovský, however, Puchmajer was not at all sceptical about the possibility of creating a new, original Czech literature. In the second half of the 1790s, he gathered around himself a group of poets and published their works in five almanacs (1795–1814). Many members of this group, such as **Josef Jungmann**, the brothers Jan and Václav Nejedlý, and Šebestián Hněvkovský, became prominent figures in the political and scholarly life in Bohemia.

Puchmajer and his friends sought to reach the educated higher levels of society with their Czech verse. On the whole, they failed in this endeavor, since the upper classes were used to reading only German and French literature. At the same time, the language and structure of their works were hardly understandable to the common people. In fact, the members of the group wrote for a narrow circle of the nationally conscious intelligentsia. Nevertheless, they laid the foundations of modern Czech poetry and the following generations of poets explored their work.

The ode of Puchmajer's presented in this volume is a vivid example of the patriotism of the group's poetry. It also emphasized the importance of the Hussite period in Czech history. In his 'History of the Czech language and literature' (1792), Dobrovský was the first writer to re-evaluate Hussitism in a positive way in contrast to Counter-Reformation Baroque historiography. Moreover, during the Napoleonic wars, the Court at Vienna did not hesitate

to use the Hussite military myth in its effort to arouse enthusiasm for the war among Czechs. This was reflected in the patriotic tone of the Puchmajer group with their emphasis on Jan Žižka, the famous Hussite warlord, in contrast to Jan Hus, the religious reformer. But for Czechs, as Puchmajer's ode suggests, this myth already had a clear anti-German connotation. In this way, Hussitism became an indispensable part of Czech national mythology, later to be emphasized especially in **František Palacký's** conception of Czech history. Nevertheless, some of the later poets in Bohemia promoting the idea of Greater Germany (Alfred von Meissner, Moritz Hartmann) in the 1840s also celebrated Hussite military glory, since they considered Czechs, though of Slav origin, to be a part of the German nation.

The Puchmajer group achieved considerable distinction, especially in literary history. Traditional historiography stressed their intention to develop a modern literature, a special poetic language, and a distinctively Czech poetry. In this the major contribution of this group was their exploration of syllabic-tonic prosody and their enrichment of the poetic repertoire. Current historiography and literary history tend to portray their activity partly as a serious effort at developing a peculiar poetics and partly as an intellectual game and challenge to the established literary manners of their time.

MK

Ode to John Žižka of Trocnov

One so pre-eminent in battle, all patriots surpassing,
 One who so gloriously his country served,
 Is one whose due are laurels everlasting,
 One who the poets' praises hath deserved.
 What lesser prize could be for him reserved?
 O happy am I, that though his light shines bright,
 In living mem'ry's temple, ever strong,
 Yet still may I take up my pen anon,
 And hymn his deeds of valor and of might,
 In this my faithful song.

O Žižka! First among Czech warriors!
 Thou terrible avenger of John Huss!
 Who to the glory of the motherland in battles furious
 Shattered all those who wished to see her dust,

Dying, extinguished, turned to ash.
What strength the Czech arm has, and what power
It wields, with love of motherland aflame
You gave the world to know with certain proof
And by your manhood (may it ever flower!)
Assured your nation an immortal name.

Ho! What do I see? Why comes this German horde,
With pounding of hooves, jingle of mail and lances?
Why are men of the Oder and Rhine marching abroad?
While down from the Alps and Apennines, from the high passes
Comes a mountain regiment, relentlessly advances.
Whither hurries the Magyar, swift neighbour of Lech?¹
And whither hasten the trained Saxon bands,
With their sharp swords and their halberds keener?
They have come to punish the Pope-denying Czech.
They are riding against Bohemia.

And into Bohemia now – my God! – they swarm,
Like great black locust clouds descending,
Oh, who will aid you, motherland forlorn
Against these foes, your peace and beauty rending?
Who now can help, your broken fortunes mending?
That clamorous army snorts and pants with ire
Rolls out across the country like a flood,
All that it comes upon is fast devoured;
Its thunderous horses turn the fields to mire,
Drink rivers down to nothing more than mud.

Žižka! Thy voice rings out, as if from heaven,
Calling each faithful Czech to play his part
Who could withstand strong arms and spirits fervent?
Who could resist the flame of passion
That flares in every patriotic heart?
How fierce they burn to lay the invader low!

¹ Reference to Poland, which, according to the medieval myth of origins, stemmed from Lech.

You came, you saw, O Žižka, took your stand,
Planned your array, and issued your command;
Then, like a hurricane, shattered the German foe,
Earned glory for yourself and for your land.

Still stand the Žatec Plains and hills of Brod,
Where with your Taborite heroes at your side,
You drove the coward Germans ever back
– As a keen hound harries the timorous hind –
Out of the land, the mountain walls behind.
To proud Prague, Žižkov district doth recall
How once you saved her from the grip of siege,
When hardly pressed, 'twas you who brought relief;
What shadow from the city's face did fall
When she beheld the Saxon come to grief!

Now in revenge for all contempt and wrong,
That German dare Bohemia to assail,
That Hus, famed Czech, should by the foaming Rhine
Be put to death so shameful and so vile,
In German lands, your banner you unfurl.
O Saxony bear witness, vales of Cheb
And hills of Austria, speak and testify,
How those Czech standards shone against the sky,
Borne on long poles, aloft and yet ahead,
The lion of Bohemia raised on high.

Bright Fame, her trumpet sounding clear and loud,
And Reputation on her feathered wing,
Spread news of your great deeds to all abroad
Publish your manly might to all the world
And everywhere your martial praises sing.
So when in battle your dread name is heard,
Straightway in all the thunder and the clangor,
The enemy is gripped by panicked horror!
Your very name inspires their hearts with dread.
Even before they see your face, they scatter.

O Žižka, greatest of warriors (withal blind)!
Fortune, that faithless woman, was your friend.
Constant to you, in cruel war always kind,
Although to others treacherous at the end.
What other hero could with you contend?
Fortune it was who Hannibal brought low,
Although at Cannae he had won the day,
Forcing imperious Rome in blood to pay;
But ne'er were you by German foes defeated,
No matter where or when the bloody fray.

O envy of the world, on your homecoming
To shouts of joy and greetings without number,
You dazzled all, and filled all hearts with pride,
In all your triumph, in your light and thunder,
Bringing your country gifts of German plunder –
Ah, every Czech was then a patriot,
Man and woman, maiden, youth and child,
And every Czech on glorious Žižka smiled.
His grateful motherland did deck his brow,
Not just with laurels but with roses wild.

Alas, that this garland later you begored,
With blood of brothers, shed in civil strife,
When in your country's bowels you thrust your sword,
And grievously did wound your homeland's life,
And all your own humanity ignored!
Why did you rage against mere monks and squires,
Lose all restraint, let slip the reins of ire,
And hurl your force at stronghold and at tower?
O Žižka, did you truly think them thieves,
Or robbers impudent, or bandits dire?

In these old ruins there is an air that daunts,
Compelling the adventurer to flight,
For night and day their dreadful message haunts;
From age to age they grieve their doleful plight,
And set a hero in a different light.
How fearfully the wailing winds do howl,

Through these memorials of the wrongs you wrought!
And often in the night when the fell owl
From his black den hoots lonely through the gloom,
The spirits make sad moan.

Translated by Anna Bryson

PETRU MAIOR: THE HISTORY OF ROMANIAN BEGINNINGS IN DACIA

Title: *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dachia* (The history of Romanian beginnings in Dacia)

Originally published: Buda, Crăiasca tipografie a Universității din Peșta (Printing house of the Royal University of Pest), 1812

Language: Romanian

The excerpts used are from *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dachia* (Iași: Junimea, 1990), pp. 5–7, 29–34.

About the author

Petru Maior [1756, probably Căpușul de Câmpie (*Hun.* Mezökapus, Transylvania) – 1821, Buda]: priest, philologist and historian. He was born in a village in Transylvania, his family belonging to the rural nobility. His father was a Greek Catholic priest. He received his education in Sibiu (*Hun.* Nagyszeben, *Ger.* Hermannstadt), Blaj (*Hun.* Balázsfalva, *Ger.* Blasendorf) and Târgu-Mureș (*Hun.* Marosvásárhely, *Ger.* Neumarkt). In 1774, together with Gheorghe Șincai (1754–1816) he began his studies in Rome, at ‘De Propaganda Fide’ College. From 1779 to 1780 Maior studied in Vienna at St. Barbara College. After he returned to Transylvania, he became a professor of theology at the Greek Catholic Theological School in Blaj. Under the tenure of Bishop Petru Pavel Aron (1752–1764) Blaj was the first town in Transylvania to have a Romanian secondary school, founded in 1754. In 1784, due to a conflict with the hierarchy in Blaj, Maior was sent to Reghin (*Hun.* Szászrégen, *Ger.* Sächsisch-Regen). Between 1785 and 1809 he was the archpriest of Gurghiu (*Hun.* Görgény), a position which facilitated his contacts with the rural population of Transylvania. In 1791 Maior was among the Romanian intellectuals who contributed to the publication of the first *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*. In 1809 he moved to Buda and became the censor of Romanian books published in Hungary. Maior’s arguments about the Latinity of the Romanian nation and about its historical rights in Transylvania played an important role in the creation of modern Romanian national identity. Maior is considered one of the most representative Transylvanian Romanian thinkers of the Enlightenment period. He belonged to a generation of authors known in Romanian historiography as ‘Școala Ardeleană’ (‘The Transylvanian School’), and was constantly evoked in the discussion about the historical continuity of the Romanians in Transylvania.

Main works: *Procanon* [Pro-canon] (1783, remained in manuscript); *Propovedanii la îngropăciunea oamenilor morți* [Religious confessions for funerals] (1809); *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dachia* [The history of Romanian beginnings in Dacia] (1812); *Istoria bisericeii românilor* [The history of the Romanian Church] (1813). He also translated Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque* into Romanian (1818).

Context

After he succeeded Maria Theresa to the Habsburg throne, Joseph II (1780–1790) launched a series of reforms designed to bring the Empire under a centralized control. His reforms touched upon diverse fields such as education and religious tolerance. Censorship, for instance, was removed from church control and taken over by the state, a measure which contributed to a considerable increase in book publication. Another example of the wide range of Joseph's centralization program was the institution of civil rights for the Orthodox communities of the Empire. Joseph was also well informed about the conditions of various ethnic groups and social categories in his Empire, as he traveled extensively within the realm of the Habsburgs. In particular, he visited Transylvania several times. It was after one of his visits that a peasant revolt broke out there. In 1784 the serfs from the Apuseni Mountains under the leadership of Ion Ursu (Horea) rebelled against their masters. Ion Ursu claimed that he was authorized by the Emperor to bring justice to the Romanian serfs. Joseph II ordered the suppression of the revolt but granted amnesty to all participants except the leaders. A series of reforms followed that aimed at alleviating the living conditions of the serfs and at bringing the nobles of Transylvania under imperial control. Joseph II introduced a number of reforms concerning the serfs, annulled Transylvania's constitution, dissolved the 'Unio Trium Nationum,' and decreed German the official language of the Empire. Joseph II's policy of Germanization and the idea of a centralized state triggered a chain reaction of national movements in the Empire. In Hungary and Transylvania both Hungarians and Romanians reacted, albeit differently, to Joseph II's 'enlightened absolutism.' The Hungarians appealed for unification of Hungary with Transylvania and demanded that Hungarian become the language of administration and education, whilst the Romanians campaigned for civil and political rights. Although Joseph II revoked many of his decrees towards the end of his life, the Romanians continued to petition for their rights during the reign of the new emperor, Leopold II (1790–1792), in a series of documents named *Supplex*.

In 1791 the bishop of Oradea, Ignatie Darabant, sent the first *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* to the State Council in Vienna. A second *Supplex* submitted by the Orthodox bishop Gherasim Adamovici and the Uniate bishop Ion Bob followed it in 1792. The bishops supported their petition with historical arguments, such as the assumption that the Romanians were descendants of the ancient Romans and thus the oldest population of Transylvania. Leopold ordered the Transylvanian Diet to consider the petition. The Diet, however, decided only to allow Orthodox believers to practice their faith. The Romanians were refused political rights. Leopold's successor, Francis I (1792–1835), was a conservative monarch who opposed any idea of reform. Notwithstanding Francis' repressive political regime, Romanian leaders in Transylvania continued to petition and write in favor of political rights for what they considered to be the 'Romanian nation.' One idea predominates in the writings of this period: the Roman origin of the Romanians.

The discourse on the Roman origin of the Romanians that emerged in Transylvania at the end of the eighteenth century had originated from contact with the university centers of Europe, especially those in Italy. After 1700, Uniate Romanians from Transylvania went to Rome to study at the Jesuit colleges. The similarity between Romanian and Latin and the Roman history of Dacia convinced them to identify themselves as descendants of the Latin-speaking Romans. Trajan's Column, with its images of the Dacians and the Roman conquest of Dacia, also served as a powerful argument.

These writers defined the Romanian national identity in relationship to the glorious past of the Romans. The projection of the nation's glorious moments into the past was not necessarily a characteristic of the Enlightenment. Generally, as West European countries had relatively homogeneous national composition and more or less stable territorial borders, the thinkers of the Enlightenment aimed, essentially, at founding a new society based on reason, thus largely neglecting a past that was regarded as dark, vulgar and barbarian. In Central and Southeast Europe, the followers of the Enlightenment struggled not only to introduce 'reason' into their societies, but also hoped to define the very entity upon which their program of cultural innovation was to be based.

Petru Maior argued for the 'Latinity' of the Romanians and considered them lineal descendants of the legions brought by the Roman emperor Trajan (r. 98–117 AD) after he conquered Dacia during the wars of 105–106 AD. Further, and more important is the assumption about the unbroken historical con-

tinuity of the Romanians in Transylvania that Maior derived from the idea of their 'pure' Roman origin. Maior augmented his claims about the historical continuity of the Romanians in Transylvania with notions of every individual's right to be free, which he absorbed from the Enlightenment milieu of the period. He added that this could only occur if men lived in communities that were free by virtue of their social and political equality. Language was perceived as the most important vehicle of this historical revival. In the *Lexicon Valachico-Latino-Hungarico-Germanicum* (1825), for instance, Maior made further efforts to highlight the 'Latinity' of the Romanians by suggesting the replacement of the Cyrillic with the Latin alphabet. For Maior, the modern Romanian language derived from the vernacular Latin spoken by the common people in the province of Dacia colonized by Trajan. In addition to claiming political recognition for the Romanians, Maior aimed at connecting the Romanians to a glorious ancestry. He deplored the fact that the descendants of the most revered people in history were mistreated and their rights in Transylvania were unacknowledged. The glorious ancestry of the Romanians was thus contrasted with their present fate of living under unjust social and economic conditions in the Habsburg Empire.

Maior's work was censured in the Habsburg Monarchy, and it was constantly rejected by Hungarian and German scholarship during the nineteenth century. However, it represented an important source of inspiration for Romanian nationalism in Transylvania. It also served as a foundation for the 'Latinist' school that dominated the interpretations of Romanian history and culture until the mid-nineteenth century. In the 1860s, the newly founded cultural and political society, *Junimea* (see **Titu Maiorescu**, *Against the contemporary direction in Romanian culture*), dealt the 'Latinist' program inaugurated by the 'Transylvanian school' a severe blow. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the attack on 'Latinism' initiated by *Junimea* was compounded by new developments in philology that questioned the concept of a Roman continuity in Dacia. In his *Histoire de la langue roumaine* (1901), Ovid Densusianu (1873–1938) argued that the area in which the Romanian language was formed must have been Illyria and not Dacia.

Although many of Maior's arguments have been refuted by modern scholarship, one idea has survived the extensive criticism and has become the cornerstone of modern Romanian nationalism: the historical continuity of the Romanians in Transylvania. During the communist era archaeological excavations were conducted in order to discover empirical facts to support the continuity argument, but the highly politicized nature of these endeavors cast

a shadow over the scientific aspect and further antagonized the relationship between Romanian and Hungarian scholarship on Transylvania.

MT

The history of Romanian beginnings in Dacia

Preface

Many foreign writers, urged by an evil spirit, wish to insult with their pens the Romanians, grandchildren of the old Romans; these are the people who in the past urged the barbarians to hate the Romans and their masters; or to envy them, the brave conquerors of the entire world; now and then, they research something and tell obvious lies about the Romanians, and think that people are bound to believe them; and for a while, as donkeys scratch donkeys, so do some people borrow the spirit to shame others, and without even attempting to investigate the truth, they readily accept all [lies]; and the deeper the silence of the Romanians, who do not respond in any way to those who lie about them, the more these people try to belittle them, and mock them happily.

My plan is not to weave the entire history of the Romanians, but rather their beginnings in Dacia, that Dacia about which old writers wrote, so that when people see from what noble ancestry the Romanians have descended, they shall follow in the footsteps of their forefathers in good will [...] and fulfill themselves in the full power of their souls; and those who have natural talent shall all become useful citizens of the country. Those who want to hear me confess, since I had so little time to compile this history that I did not even manage to rewrite it more plainly, shall by no means praise me by saying that there are no mistakes in it; neither could I hold, for the same reason, the order of things, but rather wrote down what came to my mind, and when it came to me. For these reasons, however understood, I am asking the readers, who discover any incorrect things before I get time to reread all this again at my ease, to advise me, for I will be happy to make the corrections. [...]

*Ch. III. § 2. It is unlikely that in the days of Aurelian,¹
all Romans should have left Dacia across the Danube for Moesia*

Those who wished harm to the Romanians, according to the words of the above-mentioned writers (§ 1), want to make us believe that in the days of Aurelian all the Romans left Dacia, and that the Romans that are now on this bank of the Danube were not born of the Romans who were left in Dacia by Aurelian, but of those that centuries after him crossed the Danube and came here, to Dacia. We will set out to demonstrate that their opinion is born out of envy.

Envy of Trajan's glory, as he abandoned the Roman rule of Assyria, Mesopotamia and Armenia, withdrawing the Roman soldiers from there, Emperor Hadrian² [...] wanted to withdraw the Roman soldiers from Dacia, too, and leave Dacia dismantled from Roman rule. His friends talked him out of this idea, for if he had left Dacia, those numerous Roman citizens who were in Dacia, sent there by Trajan, would have been left in the hands of the barbarians. Let me ask you this: wanting to abandon Dacia, a Roman province, did Hadrian also want to withdraw the Roman peasants and provincials, or did he only want to withdraw the soldiers, as he had done in many other Roman colonies? I say he only wanted to withdraw the soldiers from Dacia. For if he had wanted to withdraw the Roman peasants as well, his friends would not have had any reason to be worried when they heard that he had withdrawn the Roman soldiers, and he left the Roman peasants in the hands of the barbarians. For if Hadrian had wanted to withdraw the peasants, together with the soldiers from Dacia, then so many Roman citizens would not have been victims of the barbarians.

But, as Hadrian envied the glory of Trajan—who had made Dacia a province, that is, a Roman land—and [as he wanted] to reduce Trajan's glory, he wished to abandon the Roman rule of Dacia, so that posterity would not remember that Dacia was made by Trajan a Roman land. Wanting, as I say, to do all this out of feelings of enmity, would he not have eased the envy that gnawed at him over the praises given to Trajan, as well, and taken the advice of his friends who rejected [the idea] that he should not leave so many Roman citizens in the hands of the barbarians, who were getting close to Dacia? He could have had both wishes easily satisfied if, when he had left Dacia, he had removed not only the soldiers, but also the Roman peasants. [...] There

¹ Emperor Aurelian (r. 270–275 AD).

² Emperor Hadrian (r. 117–138 AD).

had to be a very important reason that stopped Hadrian from satisfying his revenge on Trajan, and not leaving the masses of Roman citizens in the hands of the barbarians.

This explanation, namely, that Hadrian abandoned the idea of severing Dacia from the Roman Empire, could only be that he found it impossible to make so many Roman peasants leave Dacia, where they were rooted and where they lived, and to settle them elsewhere. Hence, if Hadrian had left Dacia with those [peasants], he would have withdrawn the soldiers, too. He would have intended, only out of the envy that he felt for Trajan, to leave the Roman peasants and provincials in the hands of the barbarians—with [such an act] he would have gathered the eternal wrath of the Roman world. So no wonder that Hadrian was so easily dissuaded by his friends' advice not to sever Dacia from the Roman Empire. So, if in Hadrian's days, not long after the Romans' arrival in Dacia, it was impossible to move the Romans—although the barbarians were at their heels—from the houses where they had settled in Dacia, to take them out of there and settle them in different places, how could it have been possible to move the Romans that were home-owners out of Dacia, and settle them in a different place in Aurelian's time? In the long period between 105 AD, which is when the Romans arrived in Dacia, and 274 AD, when it is said that the Romans left Dacia, crossed the Danube and settled in Moesia, how much would the young Romans have multiplied from the numerous group that had been sent to Dacia by Trajan?

§ 3. Most of the Romans did not leave Dacia across the Danube

It was almost 200 years since the Romans, under the rule of Trajan, had settled in Dacia, a land that was blessed with richness. Hence, those who lived in Dacia during the rule of Aurelian were fellow citizens, of Roman origin, but who, except for the newer colonists, were born and raised in Dacia; and so were their parents and grandparents. So, for these Romans, even though their ancestors had come from Italy, Dacia was their fatherland. And who could be so insensitive and not know that people love and want to stay in their Fatherland, the land where they were born and raised? The land that holds their parents' and their grandparents' bones, where they died and rest? Even if the country is weak and overwhelmed by troubles that they have to face, there are few who would leave it, unless by severe order and forced to do so. This is a natural urge, which makes people love their country and [they are] happy to stay in the land, as Ovid also wrote. And there is no evidence recorded by any historian that Emperor Aurelian should have given a

strict order that all Romans, or most of them, should leave Dacia and cross the Danube to Moesia, or that a barbarian tribe should have attacked and forced the people to leave their country. Aurelian could not have given that order, because it would have been impossible for the mass of people to leave Dacia and cross the Danube heading for middle Moesia in order to settle there. This thing is so proven that [even] among adversaries who envy the noble origin of the Romans and the tradition of their continuous heritage in Dacia there is no one who dares to say that either there was an order from Aurelian or compulsion by a barbarian tribe, that all Romans or most Romans should leave Dacia. Therefore, all the evidence demonstrates that in Aurelian's days most of the Romans did not leave Dacia to cross the Danube, but stayed there.

Translated by Mária Kovács

ION BUDAI-DELEANU: THE GYPSY EPIC

Title: *Țiganiada* (The Gypsy epic)

Originally published: Published posthumously by Teodor Codrescu in *Buciumul român* (Iași, 1875, 1877), vol. I, II.

Language: Romanian

The excerpts used are from Florea Fugariu, ed., *Țiganiada* (Timișoara: Amarcord, 1999), pp. 227–230.

About the author

Ion Budai-Deleanu [1760(?) Cigmău (*Hun.* Csigmó, Transylvania) – 1820, Lemberg (*Ukr.* Lviv, *Pol.* Lwów, present-day Ukraine)]: linguist and historian. His father was a Greek Catholic priest. He received his primary education in his native village. Between 1773 and 1777 he studied at the theological seminar in Blaj (*Hun.* Balázsfalva, *Ger.* Blasendorf). In 1777 he went to Vienna to study philosophy. He became acquainted with Samuil Micu (1746–1862), Gheorghe Șincai (1754–1816) and Samuil Vulcan (1758–1839), with whom he collaborated on various political activities. Although he returned afterwards to Blaj, the religious climate that dominated the intellectual environment of this town soon clashed with his views. As a result, Budai-Deleanu decided to leave Transylvania and, with the help of Samuil Vulcan, he moved to Lemberg, where he worked as a secretary and an attorney at law. During the 1790s, Budai-Deleanu participated in the *Supplex* movement, in particular in the preparation of the draft of the first *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*. However, although Budai-Deleanu kept close relations to his native land, he never returned to Transylvania. In 1797, he was appointed ‘royal counsellor’ in Lemberg, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1815, Veniamin Costache, the archbishop of Moldavia (1802–1812), invited him to teach at a seminary, but Budai-Deleanu declined the invitation. Although his contribution to the *Supplex* was known to nineteenth century scholarship, there was no public knowledge of his poem, ‘The Gypsy epic,’ which remained in manuscript. The first publication of ‘The Gypsy epic’ went almost unnoticed; nor did subsequent editions published in the interwar period (1925) generate any substantial debate. It was only during the second half of the twentieth century that Budai-Deleanu’s writings were integrated into the literary canon and benefited from scholarly attention.

Main works: *Temeiurile gramaticii românești* [The foundations of Romanian grammar] (unpublished manuscript); *Lexicon românesc-nemțesc și nemțesc-românesc* [Romanian-German and German-Romanian Dictionary] (unpublished manuscript); *Țiganiada* [The Gypsy epic] (1812, remained in manuscript).

Context

The religious Union with the Catholic Church in Rome (1698–1701) integrated the Romanians of Transylvania into a broader European circulation of ideas. In 1701 Emperor Leopold I granted all Greek Catholics or ‘Uniates’ (as the members of the new church came to be known) the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Protestants and the Catholics in the Habsburg realm. These political acts triggered an effervescent cultural and religious activity among the Romanians. This in turn resulted in the creation of an educated elite. In the absence of a Romanian aristocracy and middle-class, members of the church represented the new cultural elite. The Uniate clergy not only battled for Romanian political rights in Transylvania, they also mediated the introduction of new ideas about the nation.

Although Ion Budai-Deleanu belongs to the ‘Transylvanian School’ of Greek Catholic intellectuals (together with S. Micu, G. Șincai, and **P. Maior**), his ideas depart thematically from the obsessive preoccupation with linguistic arguments that characterized other members of the ‘School.’ He was influenced more by the French version of the Enlightenment than by the ‘enlightened absolutism’ characterizing the Habsburg lands. One of the most important consequences of this influence is the specific tone of his anti-clericalism. Budai-Deleanu criticized religious dogmatism and fanaticism and constructed a general critique of society based on the refutation of religious dogmas. Many of these ideas appeared in the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (1751–1772), edited by Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean D’Alembert (1717–1783), one of Budai-Deleanu’s main sources of inspiration.

The influence of the French Enlightenment can also be detected in Budai-Deleanu’s theories about the reformation of society. In his view, the reclaiming of historical rights was not in itself enough to educate the people and promote the emergence of a national consciousness. New laws based on reason and equality were necessary to initiate progress and bring about the benefits of civilization. The oligarchic rule of a select few led to corruption and de-nationalization. Budai-Deleanu declared himself the supporter of a ‘democratic’ order which, he believed, should replace despotism and allow the

people to express their views freely. In order to convey his message, Budai-Deleanu resorted to satire and allegory. Although the plot of 'The Gypsy epic' is set in fifteenth-century Wallachia—during the reign of Vlad Țepeș (r. 1456–1462), a ruler of ambiguous reputation, praised for his sense of justice—the poem's real stage is nineteenth-century Romanian society. Budai-Deleanu's work was an attack against the Phanariot regime and the decay of national values it caused in Romanian society. By using metaphors, Budai-Deleanu deplored the decadence and indifference of the young generation of Romanians. By contrast, the rule of Vlad Țepeș was invoked as an example of historical justice in which Romanians could find guidance and inspiration. In this allegorical style Budai-Deleanu invested his characters, whose names were derived from the animal world, with the ability to carry on philosophical debates about the meaning of life and society. These debates had moral, social, religious, or political significance, and the characters were the personification of abstract ideas such as charity, greed and envy.

Budai-Deleanu infused the poem with ideas about social reform, national revival and cultural progress. The poem is also punctuated with ironic and humorous commentaries. After 1989, the poem was also praised for its generous understanding of the nomadic nature of the Roma population, their bravery and their courageous attitude towards matters of life and death. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the poem was constantly tapped in attempts to construct a narrative about the place of the Roma minority in Romanian history. The predominant interpretation, however, remains the one that views the poem as a prime example of the social and political satire of Romanian society during the Phanariot period.

MT

The Gypsy Epic

Song VII.

Where are the brave soldiers of old days?
 The heroes of rare virtue,
 Who fell in love with young women,
 And traveled widely in the country
 Fighting lions and rascals,
 Cleaning the land of tyrants.

Who could not stand seeing
 The weaker oppressed by the stronger,

Who freed peoples from slavery,
And defended the innocent,
And in return for their help,
They never asked for any favor?

Oh! Honourable grey old age!
Where are your sacred plans? ...
What ire does the world raise now
to drown it in that heap of evil?
Old faith has perished!
Oh! Oh, changed world! Pagan times!

But why should I blame time? Which
does not work at random! ...
It witnesses our deeds and reprimands
- Those which are too shameful!
For these, you, man, are to blame, you,
Who turn a blind eye and run from light.

God gave you mind and virtue:
So that it should light your darkness,
And help you in need,
Show you what is good and what is bad,
And the path to happiness,
And unchain you from slavery!

Today's youth are soft and mild,
They have learnt nothing
But search for love
And reach for their sword with fear,
They laze around lying
And gaping in public houses.

To garnish themselves with tenderness,
With more care than a woman would take,
To gamble away their fortune,
[These] are the deeds that today
Our young aristocrats
Are most preoccupied with.

All they can do is boast about
Their hard work to ladies,
And – if faced with a hail of bullets –
At the head of an army,
Poor them! They would be sick,
And turn pale in the face!

A helmet on the head, a sword in the right hand,
Heart in the chest, and a shield in the left,
With virtue and bright mind,
These are the men that can break
The chain of the horrible slavery
You endure, oh, my people!

Different used to be the Romanian youth
In Prince Vlad's times, who defeated
Mohammed's pagan army,
With virtue and bravery,
But that bravery is now gone,
And you moan oppressed, Wallachia!

Translated by Mária Kovács

IVAN SELIMINSKI: LETTER TO GEORGI ZOLOTOVICH

Title: *До Г. Золотович в Цариград – Атина, 24 новември 1843* (Letter to Georgi Zolotovich in Constantinople – Athens, 24 November 1843)

Originally published: *Библиотека Д-р Иван Селимински*, Министерство на Народното образование, vol. XIV, Sofia, 1931

Language: Greek

The excerpts used are from *Избрани съчинения*, ed. by Nikolaj Kochev (Sofia: “Наука и изкуство”, 1979), pp. 374–379.

About the author

Ivan Seliminski [1799, Sliven – 1867, Ismail (Bessarabia, Ukr. Izmail, present-day Ukraine)]: physician, philosopher and political leader. He was one of the most influential figures of the Bulgarian cultural revival and the struggle for the creation of an independent Bulgarian church and state. He was born into a bourgeois family. He studied in the school of the Greek Enlightenment scholar Theophilos Kairis in Kydonies (*Tur.* Ayvalık). Between 1821 and 1824 he actively participated in the Greek independence movement. After extensive travels (Greece, Italy, Austria, Hungary) he returned to Sliven where he founded a secret committee whose ultimate aim was the establishment of an independent Bulgarian state (other branches were created in Shumen and Zheravna). He provided strategic help to the Russian army during the Russian-Turkish war of 1828–1829. After the signing of the Adrianople treaty (1829) he organized the mass emigration of the population from the Sliven region to Bessarabia and the Danubian Principalities, in an effort to save it from the vengeance of the Ottoman army. In Bessarabia he became the leader of the Bulgarian immigrants. In the 1840s he studied medicine in Athens, Pisa and Siena. In this period he actively participated in the political activity of the Bulgarian immigrant circles in Paris. He was also one of the main organizers of the Bulgarian volunteers during the Crimean war. He himself served as a medical officer in the Russian army and was decorated. After a short stay in Western Europe, Seliminski continued to work as a doctor in Bolgrad (Bessarabia), where he was the leader in the political and cultural life of the Bulgarian community. While not an unknown figure, Seliminski does not occupy a central place in the historiography and the national martyrology of the Bulgarian state, which has entirely centered on the revolutionary activities from Georgi Rakovski to Vassil Levski, which culminated, according to the national *grand récit*, in the April uprising of 1876.

Main works: *Естествено то предназначение на човека* [The natural destination of man] (1843); *Исторически спомен* [Historical memoirs] (1855); *Политиката на Русия и на великите държави към Турция и подвластните ѝ народи* [The politics of Russia and the Great Powers towards Turkey and the peoples subordinated to her] (1859); *Писма* [Letters] (1835–1860).

Context

Seliminski developed his philosophical ideas under the influence of the Greek scholars Theofilos Kairis and **Adamantios Korais** and the Bulgarian polymath **Petar Beron**. His political projects were based on his philosophical understanding of human nature ('The natural destination of man'). Knowledge, freedom and happiness are the three main notions of his philosophical anthropology. Influenced by the French republican thinker Gabriel Bonnot de Mably's views, Seliminski is in fact the creator of the first social utopia of the Bulgarian revival, which had clear utilitarian implications. Nations are considered as individuals: they are naturally equal and the differences between them are due only to external influences. In the same way that the common happiness depends on the interaction between the individuals within the social organism, nations should be unified under the general goal of attaining the *bien-être* of the whole of humanity. A general economic and social law, according to Seliminski, is that one's use of goods (both material and spiritual) should be equal to what one has oneself produced. All individuals, social groups and nations should accept the ethical norms deriving from this general law, which will lead them to their highest common goal.

In accordance with his social philosophy, Seliminski held that political independence should be attained not in a revolutionary but in an evolutionary way. Political force should rest not on weapons but on moral strength, the development of knowledge (embodied in educational institutions) as well as political and civic progress (the establishment of civic institutions). Consequently, Seliminski's main enemy was not Ottoman political oppression but Greek cultural and religious dominance, which he saw as an attempt to hellenize the Bulgarian population. It is paradoxical to some extent that an ex-student of Kairis, who was decorated for his participation in the Greek independence movement and who used predominantly the Greek language in his writings, was a most fervent critic of the hellenization of the Bulgarian school and church. However, an underlying consistency is evident: much as the Greek *illuminati* had preached that the education of the people was only

possible in its 'living language,' not in ancient Greek, so their Bulgarian disciples like **Rilski** and Seliminski, but also Petko R. Slaveykov, believed that a Bulgarian 'Enlightenment' was possible only in the 'mother tongue.' In accordance with his ideological position, Seliminski was one of the leaders of the struggle against the Phanariot Patriarchate, the aim of which was the reestablishment of an independent Bulgarian church (the movement succeeded only in 1871, after Seliminski's death).

Seliminski himself did not take an active part in the debate between 'revolutionaries' and 'evolutionists' over the means of attaining an independent Bulgarian state, which became central after his death (see **SBCC**, *Memorandum* and **Hristo Botev**, *Hadji Dimitar* and *The hanging of Vasil Levski*). Although he never evolved into a Pan-Slavist, he shifted relatively late (in the late 1840s) to a moderate Russophilism, largely provoked by a perceived geopolitical cynicism of the Western powers rather than by any cultural affinity. In his treatise, 'The politics of Russia and the Great Powers towards Turkey and the peoples subordinated to her' (1859), he proved that the Western powers did not have any political and/or economical interest in the creation of a new, strong and independent South-Slavic state.

The following letter to Georgi Zolotovitch¹ includes the 'political confession' of Seliminski, consisting of 12 points and resuming, in a programmatic way, his political views.

BM

A letter to Georgi Zolotovitch

And with respect to my present opinions on the national cause, I could choose not to answer you, as I am not the one governing the country's affairs, so the fortunes or misfortunes of our people do not depend on my proper or improper opinions. I am a private person living far from the people. And yet, to give you a better idea, I present here my *political confession*.

1. I was born in the *Bulgarian* town of Sliven, to *Bulgarian* parents of *orthodox* creed.

2. I follow, respect, and openly profess my *father's faith*, in which I was born, christened and brought up. Through it I am connected so *naturally*,

¹ Georgi Zolotovitch (1799–1881), born in Kalofer, was a wealthy merchant in Constantinople, who supported Bulgarian schools and churches in the Ottoman Empire. He also took part in the struggle to establish the Bulgarian Exarchate.

morally and politically to my people that I could not tear myself apart from them even if I wanted to.

3. As peoples only exist through close *unity and agreement* with each other, it is only natural for me to disapprove of and reproach anyone, be he our compatriot or not, who thinks the opposite with the sole goal of spreading disagreement, or anyone who shares views incompatible with the moral advancement and natural predestination of our people, thus hampering its purpose as God's creature.

4. I believe and profess that *strong unity is achieved by means of the true notions of things* acquired through the dissemination of education among the whole people and through the uniform moral cultivation of the people.

5. All this is achieved by means of the cultivation and enriching of our national language and literature, in which every one of us is used from early childhood to express his thoughts and understand the thoughts of his relatives. Each of us agrees to keep, together with his compatriots, the unity of these thoughts and thus to preserve *his political existence* with the support of the language he uses to pray and receive God's orders. Every foreign language, inscrutable to the people, is considered by St. Paul to be barbaric and not only hampering the advancement of the people but often diverting it from its natural predestination.

6. The freedom of any people lies in the unity of personal freedoms of each one of its members, while the personal freedoms are commensurate with the horizon of the people's *knowledge*, with its shrewd discerning of what is right or wrong for its future. Besides, the people must very adroitly use the means available to compensate for what it lacks, to rectify its *economic and moral situation* and thus improve its prosperity—all this is commensurate with the eternal advancement of each inseparable unit of the people.

7. All this is hard and difficult to achieve for a people under foreign rule, especially an Asian despotism and the Phanariot clergy; yet it is just as tough for a people to break with its suffering without having first undergone the moral transformation and renovation without which it can change the form of government but never its political and moral situation. Therefore, every people in our plight feels the weight of oppression more strongly than others—examples of the opposite are simply exceptions to the rule. That is why I do not approve of the *deliberate revolutionary activities* of some, as they bring bad consequences, though I cannot deny that without them no people have been liberated. *The rulers never yielded their rights to their subordinates* while the latter were meekly and chastely lying low politically. The two sides, ruled and rulers, must go together even if it seems that one is following

the other, or shall we say that now one follows, now the other, i.e. the two sides must work together *vis-à-vis* the current circumstances.

8. All people are children of the divine Father, they have the same *nature*, they are born, grow old and die in the same manner, and therefore they seek the *same* means for prosperity. They all have the same feelings and passions, they all adopt the same principles, but as a result of *external and internal* material and moral conditions all this can undergo some partial modification. Hence I do not see any justified reasons to ascribe some superior qualities to any one nation while ignoring the rest of the beautiful creatures of God—all nations improve with the right cultivation and become corrupt with the wrong one. Therefore, those philosophers who do not know human nature make a big mistake when entertaining and disseminating detrimental ideas, causing the stagnation or, rather, retardation of human development.

9. The general welfare of the whole people includes the individual welfare of all citizens, as the whole cannot exist without its parts, nor can the separate part live on independently of the nation. Just as the welfare, health and vigor of man depend on the harmonious co-operation of all his body parts, so the common good depends on the co-operation and harmony of every part of the socio-political organism.

10. The closer our relationship becomes to other peoples and especially to those of Slavic origin, the stronger will be our ties, the greater and more sincere our help and compassion, the sounder the foundations of our national welfare. The more our people studies history and the advanced literature of other nations, especially the Slavs, the sooner it will advance its own to reach the glory of its ancestors and of modern civilized peoples. All this we have vainly sought for centuries in the philology, writings and ideas of various alien and unrelated peoples.

11. As long as our clergy is under the direct authority of the Phanar, our people will be on the daily road to perdition, since there is no salvation without *our own clergy*.

12. *Our people will never be happy until all members of the social estates do their best to implement the above truths.* Until the clergy starts preaching and instructing its congregation in *meaningful evangelical worship*, not in human greed and commands wrapped in hypocrisy and lies. Our people will never be happy until the teachers stop instructing in sophistry our tender youths, the sweet hope of our nation, and start teaching them to aspire to the *natural destination of Man*. Until youths are brought up as good members of the whole political society, as good heads of their families and noble members not only of their communities but of the whole people as well. Our peo-

ple will only be happy when prelates set an example of justice and charity, when rich men show that they are but the stewards of the riches God gave them to use sensibly for the *common needs of their people and their fatherland*. In a word, when all our countrymen readily and sincerely do their sacred duty to *society*, to their *homeland* and, within their means, to the whole *nation* by helping it attain the *great common goal of mankind*, one by preaching the truths of the gospel, another by educating the youth, or by using his riches to the right cause or just by showing the way with his good name. If we all act in such a way, we will fulfill our sacred destiny.

Translated by Zornitsa Dimova

İBRAHİM ŞİNASI: ODES

Title: *Kaside* (Odes)

Originally published: Istanbul, Tasvir-i Efkâr Press, 1862

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Şinasi's *Kaside* (Odes) come from his *Müntehibat-ı Eş'ar* (Selection of poems). It was republished in transcribed form with the title *Müntahabât-ı Eş'âr*, abridged by Süheyl Beken (Ankara: Dün Bugün Yayınevi, 1960), pp. 25–29.

About the author

İbrahim Şinasi [1826 Istanbul – 1871 Istanbul]: Ottoman bureaucrat, writer and journalist. İbrahim Şinasi, the son of an Ottoman military officer, started his official career right after elementary school as a clerk in the scribal office of the Imperial Ottoman Artillery. Like many Ottoman novice-bureaucrats he developed his Arabic and Persian skills during his years in the office, while also learning French. In 1849, under the patronage of two figureheads of the modernizing Ottoman establishment, **Mustafa Reşid** and Fethi Ahmed Paşas, Şinasi was sent to Paris where he studied public finance and literature. Şinasi benefited immensely from the intellectual atmosphere of the French capital, rubbing elbows with many linguists, Orientalist scholars and poets, while establishing close ties with various liberal groups (including literary celebrities such as Alphonse de Lamartine). Şinasi held certain government posts in the decade that followed his return to the Ottoman capital in 1853. Yet, his advancement in the bureaucratic hierarchy was curbed by the rise to power of factions opposed to his main patron, Reşid Paşa. The young intellectual concentrated on literary activity and journalism instead, becoming the most prominent and vocal advocate of westernization outside the official circle of elites steering the Ottoman reform program. In 1860 Şinasi and his friend Âgâh Efendi began publishing the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (Interpreter of events), among the earliest examples of its kind in Turkish. Later, in 1862, Şinasi began publishing his own newspaper, the *Tasvir-i Efkâr* (Account of opinions), which had a profound impact on Ottoman intellectual life as it became the primary and most innovative source for the dissemination of European political ideas and novel literary approaches. The *Tasvir* not only included in-depth analyses of political events (many of which were considered to be dangerously libertarian by the government) but also serials comprising the works of Ottoman scholars and literati, as well as translated samples of post-Enlightenment

European knowledge (such as Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, or Vattel's *Droit des gens*). At the end of 1864 Şinasi fled to Paris, on the eve of the proclamation of a new press law modeled after the draconian measures initiated by Napoleon III. Şinasi lived a reclusive life in his last years, entirely dedicating himself to the writing of an Ottoman grammar and a comprehensive dictionary (the manuscripts of which have disappeared). He returned to Istanbul in 1870, and died the following year. The clear and lucid writing style promoted by Şinasi contributed significantly to the emergence of a modern literary and journalistic format in Ottoman Turkish. Due to his avowal of humanistic rationalism and relentless critique of fanaticism, Şinasi remains a revered icon of modernization within the secular pantheon of Republican Turkey.

Main works: *Divan-ı Şinasi* [Collection of poems by Şinasi] (1859); *Şair Evlenmesi* [Marriage of a poet] (1860); *Müntehibat-ı Eş'ar* [Selection of poems] (1862); Translations: *Tercüme-i Manzume* [Translation of poems] (1859).

Context

Şinasi was the earliest representative of the emerging Ottoman intelligentsia of the 1860s and 1870s. This period saw the rise of a group of individuals, mostly engaged in journalism, who assessed the modernizing reforms of the state on a more intellectual level. Taking advantage of the advanced means of mass communication, they initiated a lively arena of public debate, the complexity of which went far beyond the pragmatic agendas of the official elite. Şinasi, an innovative poet and an active public figure, was regarded by many younger intellectuals of the time as the icon of a coming age of freedom and intellectual revival.

Şinasi's main concern was to educate the Ottoman reading public and familiarize them with basic European political, social and literary conceptions. His linguistic program, therefore, was centered upon clarity and precision. His blunt and oftentimes monotonous use of language, bereft of the standard Ottoman arsenal of convoluted expressions saturated with Arabic and Persian words, heralded a new literary and journalistic style that had a lasting impact on written Turkish. Şinasi was the first among a series of Late Ottoman poets who turned verse into a powerful tool for propagating novel ideologies.

Şinasi was a confirmed believer in the values of the Enlightenment, in contrast to his followers, the Young Ottomans, whose ideas were heavily tinged by romantic-nationalist sentiments. Yet, although he was far ahead of his contemporaries in envisioning a transformed and Europeanized Ottoman society, Şinasi's political writings are pervaded by an opaque and laconic style that largely shrouds his revolutionary intellectual fervor (with good rea-

son, since even his self-constrained editorials once cost him his government position and caused the temporary closing of his newspaper). It is some of Şinasi's poems, therefore, rather than his newspaper editorials, that convey the particulars of his intellectual stance in a more condensed and tangible manner, probably because the polysemy of poetic language allowed him to be uncharacteristically direct and safely evasive at the same time. The two poems included here are among a series of odes Şinasi composed (between 1854 and 1858) for **Mustafa Reşid Paşa**, the Ottoman statesman who initiated the period of modernizing reforms (usually referred to as the *Tanzimat*) by masterminding the official declaration called the *Gülhane* Edict (dated 1839). Much more than perfunctory eulogies, these poems delineate a radically new vision of the Ottoman state and society which, Şinasi thought, was rendered possible through the revolutionary deeds of his 'national hero'—Reşid Paşa.

Şinasi regarded Reşid Paşa's activities, and the *Tanzimat* program in general, as a grand 'civilizing mission' that involved the implementation of a new social/political order in the Ottoman Empire based on rational and humanistic principles. In one of the odes, the reforming statesman is compared to no less a figure than Isaac Newton in his defense of pure reason and his relentless struggle against the constraining forces of fanaticism and fatalistic lethargy. It is curious to note that during the same years, Auguste Comte applauded the *Tanzimat* reforms on similar grounds. In a letter addressed to Reşid Paşa, Comte expressed his enthusiasm for the Ottoman experiment as a new test-case where the 'religion of humanity' was taken as the basis of a broad social/political transformation. On the other hand, Şinasi's portrayal of the nascent Ottoman 'Enlightenment' is heavily laden with religious connotations. Civilization (*medeniyet*) is portrayed in these poems as a religion based on justice, equality and reason, whose book is the secular law of the *Tanzimat*, and whose prophet (*resul*) is Mustafa Reşid Paşa. The just statesman's body is depicted as a divine miracle (*mu'cize*), and his time an "age of happiness" (*vakt-i sa'adet*, as in the age of the prophet), ending a dark era of ignorance and oppression. Clearly, in order to convey new ideas within a recognizable framework, Şinasi chose to appropriate classical topoi from the popular Islamic imaginary. But one should also note that, being a devout Muslim, he also saw in the new era of the *Tanzimat* a genuine opportunity for forging a unique cultural synthesis. For Şinasi, this new stage in Ottoman history promised a historic reconciliation between cultural Islam and the secular ideas of the West, whereby, as he notes in one article, "Asia's archaic wisdom" would merge with the "pristine ideas of Europe."

One of Şinasi's important contributions to Late Ottoman political thought was the new emphasis he placed on the concept of "the Ottoman public." For the early Tanzimat bureaucrats, the state apparatus itself constituted the real priority, which had to be salvaged, reformed and strengthened in order to protect the "life, honor and property" of the Ottoman subjects/citizens. Şinasi, on the other hand, defined the goals of the reform program in direct relation to the people and their basic rights. In one of the odes, he identifies the *Tanzimat* as a "document of emancipation" (*'itkname*) that safeguards the rights of the people against oppression and the arbitrary use of power. In the following line of the same couplet, Şinasi is at his boldest when he asserts that the secular laws of the *Tanzimat* were made to curb the powers of the sultan and to let him "know his place" (i.e. his limits) *vis-à-vis* the people. Indubitably, Şinasi is envisioning here a radically new, secularized and democratized Ottoman polity held in check by free, enlightened individuals and orchestrated by the reforming vizier, whom the poet adorns with titles derived from parliamentary democracy, such as the "deputy of the nation" (*meb'us*—in an 1855 ode), or the "president of the republic" (*re'is-i cumhur*).

Şinasi's use of the word "*millet*" in the modern sense of the word "nation" (as opposed to its traditional Ottoman usage for denominating the ethno-religious communities of the empire) is not in any way unique. From the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, the extensive centralization policies of the pre-*Tanzimat* years prompted some reform-minded Ottomans to use this specific word for denoting a common and secular, albeit ambiguous, image of Ottoman nationhood. The new and more inclusive meaning of the term continued to coexist with its traditional form throughout the century, due to the survival, and even hardening, of the ethno-religious categories. However Şinasi's usage of the term has a very cosmopolitan tinge to it; not surprising for a man who declared that his "nation [was] the entire humankind and [his] fatherland, the surface of the earth." He thematized the Ottoman nation, in its ideal form, as a broad civic framework of association bound together by common, rational laws and basic humanistic ideals. Şinasi's universalist definition of the Ottoman nation is devoid of any ethnic references, due to the peculiarities of defining a common identity in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire. Neither does it reveal any hint of religious sentimentalism as observed commonly in the romantics of the later years such as **Namık Kemal**. But a close reading of Şinasi's writings also reveal an acute ambiguity in the way he imagined a collective Ottoman identity. It appears that the author's egalitarian model is counter-balanced by a deep-seated reluctance to forgo the privileged status of the Muslim element (his reflexive urge to con-

tinue using the term “dominant *millet*” for the community in question is a case in point). There is no clear indication in Şinasi’s writing as to how the non-Muslim elements would be incorporated into the shared edifice of Ottoman nationhood. One must understand, therefore, that as the author promoted a secular and inclusive sense of Ottoman nationality, his priorities, above all, lay with the dominant Muslim community. As such, Şinasi’s unresolved stance points to a fundamental dilemma that was to be tackled by generations of Ottoman intellectuals to come.

AE

Ode (1856)

[...]

Good and evil are discerned by the light of reason
As colors are revealed by the sun’s radiance

[...]

A fact: Constant struggle reigns among the natural powers of the living
The strong vanquishes the weak by sheer oppression and force

To ward off oppression, human reason has installed the laws
That, in their power, represent truth and justice

Some men of wisdom say truth and justice comprise religion
That they shackle the carnal mind and all its terrible vice

The pen and the sword, safeguards against man
Who, himself, is the chief enemy of truth and justice

The pen and the sword: the scribe and executioner of reason
One marks out, and the other spells riddance

[...]

Is it too much to call you the prophet of civilization?
Fanaticism menaced by your astounding presence

[...]

O, president of the republic of virtuous people
Tell me, do I deserve to remain enslaved by men of ignorance?

Ode (1857)

Now, to the subject of Reşid's excellence and merit
Surely he was sent forth to revive the state

The true pride of the world of civilization, your time
Like the age of the prophet, is the empire's prime
[...]

For the heart of the nation, your body is a celestial wonder
Such meager minds, who fail to cherish this treasure

Your equity and beneficence cannot be gauged by the likes of Newton
The likes of Plato, alas, would fail to grasp your discernment and reason

In the universe, the gift of life has been bequeathed with equity
For humankind, knowledge and reason bestow honor and dignity

Life, honor and property; the candles of our heart undimmed
As your justice is a globe, shielding it against tyranny's wind

You liberated us, who were enslaved by oppression
Around our necks, ignorance weighed like an iron chain

A declaration of freedom for humanity, your law
It lets the sultan know his place, your law
[...]

Fanaticism, an incurable ill for the entire human race
From which our nation's salvaged by your sheer vigilance.

Translated by Ahmet Ersoy

CHAPTER III.
CREATING AN ENLIGHTENED
NATIONAL PUBLIC

ALOIS BLUMAUER: OBSERVATIONS ON AUSTRIA'S ENLIGHTENMENT AND LITERATURE

Title: *Beobachtungen über Österreichs Aufklärung und Litteratur* (Observations on Austria's Enlightenment and literature)

Originally published: Wien, Joseph Kurzböck, 1782

Language: German

Excerpts used are from the original, pp. 33, 57–58 and 67–68.

About the author

Alois Blumauer [1755, Steyr (Upper Austria) – 1798, Vienna]: writer and journalist. He was educated by the Jesuits and became a member of their order. When the Society of Jesus was dissolved in 1773, Blumauer was left impoverished. During the last years of Maria Theresa's reign he settled in Vienna, where he aligned himself with the reformists and found influential patrons. His first literary work, the drama *Erwine von Steinheim*, was performed successfully at the Burgtheater in 1780 and won him the patronage of **Sonnenfels**. In 1782 he was appointed a censor. The revision of censorship by Joseph II in 1781, the so-called 'Pressefreiheit,' was a major victory for the adherents of the Enlightenment in Austria. Benefiting from the new intellectual climate, Blumauer published a series of satiric and philosophical poems, criticizing the Church and eulogizing Joseph II's policies. His travesty of the *Aeneid*, in particular, made him a favorite with the reading public in Austria and Germany. Published in 1782, shortly after Pope Pius VI's visit to Vienna, the *Aeneid* was immediately understood as a satire on the Pope and the Catholic Church. From 1781 he published *Wiener Musenalmanach*—one of the most important journals of the Austrian Enlightenment—initially with Joseph Franz Ratschky (1757–1810), a famous Viennese playwright and satirist, then alone from 1793 onwards. Through his membership of the Masonic lodge he belonged to one of the most fashionable and influential groups of Viennese intellectuals. Between 1784 and 1786 he was the editor of an important Masonic magazine *Journal für Freymaurer* ('Journal for Freemason'). After 1794 he was persecuted on the grounds of being a supporter of the French Revolution, most probably for endorsing Ratschky's comic-satirical epic *Melchior Striegel* (1793–1795), a Josephist reading of the French Revolution. Under Emperor Francis II (r. 1792–1835, from 1804 as Francis I, Austrian Emperor), he withdrew from public life. On the whole, Blumauer's texts are largely ignored by scholarship dealing with the Austrian Enlightenment, although his 'Observations' served as guidance to some nineteenth-century interpretations of the Josephist period. Nevertheless,

recent scholarship on Austrian literature in the eighteenth century has attempted to find a place for Blumauer within the Austrian cultural canon.

Main works: *An die selige Kaiserin* [To the revered memory of the Empress] (1780); *Beobachtungen über Österreichs Aufklärung und Litteratur* [Observations on Austria's enlightenment and literature] (1782); *Virgils Aeneis travestiert* [Virgil's Aeneid in travesty] (1782); *Bittschrift der verwittweten Erzherzoginn Austria an ihren neuen Gebieter Leopold II* [Petition of the widowed Archduchess Austria to Her new lord Leopold II] (1790); *Das Wienerblättchen* [The Viennese lamella] (1784); *Gedichte* [Poems] (1787); *Prosaische Aufsätze* [Prosaic essays] (1809).

Context

The Enlightenment in Austria had two main dimensions: a social and legal reform initiated by the state, and a literary revival. If 'cameralism'—arguably an internal development within the Austrian political establishment—represented the first aspect (see **Joseph von Sonnenfels**, *On the love of Fatherland*), the second aspect was the result of a combination of exogenous influences and indigenous conditions. As a result, the very notion of 'Austrian' literature at the end of the eighteenth century is contested. One of the most important influences on the Austrian cultural context was exerted by the appeal of prominent German writers for the creation of 'German' national literature. In 1773, for example, a collection of essays appeared titled *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* ('On German Manner and Art') which contained two contributions by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803)—next to works by Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) and the historian Justus Möser (1720–1794)—which galvanized the younger generation of German-speaking writers. Herder argued for the necessity of collecting and preserving indigenous literature as the authentic expression of a national character. The implication was that the German dramatists and literati of the time should strive to reflect their own societies rather than follow the precepts of French classical theater and literature. One of the first writers to portray ideas that reflected the 'German' national character in Austria was Johann Michael Denis (1729–1800), who sought to revive German patriotism by treating subjects connected with Germanic antiquity and whose German translations of Ossianic poetry brought him instant success in Austria.

These developments were corroborated by the new status Vienna had acquired within the literary world of the German-speaking lands. The prominent German poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803) put forward a

plan for founding an Imperial German Academy of Arts and Sciences in Vienna, while in his *Die Gelehrtenrepublik* (1774) he emphatically included Vienna in his scheme for the regeneration of German letters. Similarly, Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), whose novels and romances had a strong influence in Austria, had attempted to start a correspondence—in French—with the Austrian Chancellor, von Kaunitz.

Many of these themes are reviewed by Blumauer in his essay, *Beobachtungen über Österreichs Aufklärung und Litteratur*. Conferring a central role on Vienna in articulating the literary consciousness of the German-speaking lands, he elaborated an interesting interpretation of the role of literature during the Enlightenment. Literature—and for Blumauer this meant, above all, the freedom to write and express new ideas—was the vehicle for education, the ‘enlightening’ of the people. Blumauer, therefore, devoted much of his essay to the expansion of the freedom of the press and its effect on subsequent publications in the Austrian Empire. One of the most important consequences of the ‘Pressefreiheit’ of 1781, he suggested, was that restrictions on publication had been greatly relaxed. Thus, this brief period of freedom of press had a tremendous liberalizing effect on Austrian intellectual and literary life; it opened the door to the ideas and writings of the eighteenth century, giving a new impulse to belles-lettres, journalism and pamphleteering.

The second half of the essay contains a variety of observations on and conclusions about contemporary publications in Austria. He explained the lack of good literature and writers in Vienna—all the more flagrant since the city was the cultural and intellectual center of the empire—by arguing that talented authors in Austria chose not to write at all, since it was not fashionable; some only published in foreign periodicals; or, again, that the fault lay with the former strict censorship that had suppressed the emergence of Austrian literature. Blumauer realized that the adoption of the Enlightenment was a slow process and thought that it would bear fruit only in the second generation. He thus praised Joseph II for his reforms, especially those regarding the Church, and concluded his analysis by appealing to all writers to work for “true Enlightenment.”

Blumauer was an acute observer whose role was to record and reproduce the new ideas of the time, and his essay was one of the major contributions to an understanding of the transformations brought about by the Josephist reforms in Austria. However, he really understood and appreciated only two innovations of the new era: the religious reform and the ‘Pressefreiheit.’ For Blumauer, as for **Joseph Richter**, Josephism was equivalent to the Enlight-

enment, especially in its anti-clerical attitude. It was this narrow vision that **Johann Pezzl** came to criticize in his *Skizze von Wien*.

Between 1798 and 1809 Blumauer's works were forbidden, and he was portrayed as an anti-absolutist writer, animated by a militant and anti-clerical spirit. With the gradual evolution of liberal ideas in the nineteenth century, moreover, Blumauer's concept of the Enlightenment was criticized and rejected. Nevertheless, the author's satiric humour enjoyed the acclaim of large segments of the reading public in Vienna in the nineteenth century. With the emergence of a new generation of Austrian writers at the end of the nineteenth century and the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918, Blumauer's works were gradually forgotten.

MT

Observations on Austria's Enlightenment and literature

The whole history of science confirms this truth: where there has been the most opposition, there has also been the most rapid progress—hence the astonishing achievements of the Greeks in philosophy compared with other branches of knowledge. As one school of thought lost ground to another, the winner was philosophy. And so it is with religion. It was opposition that prompted our church teachers to produce their best writings; the loss of the beneficent influence of opposition in the dark ages of Christendom is attributable to Roman censorship and interdiction, which bound human reason in shackles and condemned it to quiescence. [...]

No wonder they welcome us, considering our many contributions. And were it not for the adverse effect on our own literature, this might be of small account; but to strip the very shirt off the back of the Fatherland, only to give it to others who are already well provided with shirts—this merits the censure of every patriot. Our literature will never make progress, will never make itself noticed and necessary to other national literatures, as long as there is no shared consciousness among our writers. Yet, how easily achievable that is! Is not Vienna the center around which revolve the lesser and greater planets of Germany? Are not the eyes of all Europe—now, at least—on Vienna? Do not philosophy and science have here a far wider influence? Is not Enlightenment at its zenith here, and is it not led by men who are the envy of many a more illustrious land? Does the world not look to us, and have not even foreign writers recognized that if German literature, as it is today, is to progress still further, it must be borne forth beyond the confines

of Vienna? But if our best writers work only for foreigners, if they divert the rivulets of their native land into foreign streams, if poets transplant blooms nurtured in their maternal soil into alien beds, if our own citizens must turn to official reports to find out what is being manufactured and what is happening in their own country, or read foreign journals to discover the talents of their own compatriots, we can never expect our domestic literature truly to flourish—even if there are a hundred foreign publishers eager and willing to re-print our two-penny pamphlets. [...]

Difficult though it may be to determine the level of enlightenment pertaining in a large state, a shrewd observer, able to detect alterations in men's opinions and prevalent modes of speech and compare them with those of the past, may nonetheless find data from which, more or less, the degree of enlightenment may be reckoned. One thing is certain: the Edicts of Tolerance¹ and Religious Decrees issued by our wise Monarch, as well as the growing freedom from censorship and the quantity of articles, essays and similar publications made possible as a result, have surely contributed to the general level of enlightenment.

For the Edicts of Tolerance quickly had the effect—in many though not all matters—of making a large part of our people aware of their age-old prejudices. [...]

May this be an inspiration to all those who believe they have been called to work towards universal Enlightenment; may the stubborn zealots and hot-headed reformers not lose sight of the middle way, which is the way of Truth, and not dissipate their intellectual energy in fruitless personal disputes; may our country's writers teach their fellow-citizens to know and profit from the benefits they derive from our Monarch's wise ordinances; and may all those blessed by Nature with the gift of higher discernment join forces to create a true Enlightenment, and consider what a great and ennobling thing it is to become the benefactor of an entire nation and of whole generations of humanity!

Translated by Robert Russell

¹ The Edict of Tolerance, first issued by Joseph II in 1781 and extended in 1782, granted limited freedom of worship to non-Roman Catholic Christians. It also removed a number of civil disabilities to which Protestants and some other religious groups had been previously subject in the Habsburg domains.

KAREL THÁM: APOLOGY OF THE CZECH LANGUAGE

Title: *Obrana jazyka českého proti utrhačům, též mnohým vlastencům v cvičení se v něm liknavým a nedbalým* (Apology of the Czech language against slanderers as well as many countrymen negligent and indolent in the practice of the language)

Originally published: Prague, J. F. z Schönfeldu, 1783

Language: Czech

The excerpts used are from Karel Ignác Thám, *Obrana jazyka českého proti utrhačům, též mnohým vlastencům v cvičení se v něm liknavým a nedbalým* (Prague: Alois Brož & František Beneš, 1918), pp. 7–37.

About the author

Karel Hynek (Ignaz) Thám [1763, Prague – 1816, Prague]: philologist, poet, translator and lexicographer, Thám read philosophy at Prague, and became acquainted with earlier Czech literature while helping to catalogue the Prague public library. Karel, together with his brother Václav Thám, was among the first people to organize theater performances in Czech. From the beginning, Czech theater played an important role in disseminating patriotic ideas among the lower social strata of the nascent national society. Whereas Václav wrote original patriotic plays, Karel devoted himself to translations of works in West European languages (Schiller, Shakespeare), conceived as a way to enrich the lexicography of the language and raise it up to a tool of ‘cultural production.’ He was also a prolific author of grammar textbooks and popular bilingual dictionaries. He was employed as a teacher of Czech at an academic *gymnasium* in Prague. He and Václav also wrote original verse and edited the first almanac in Czech, *Básně v řeči vázané* (Poems in a tied tongue), 2 vols, (1785). The Thám brothers were later called the founders of the Czech national theater.

Main works: *Obrana jazyka českého proti utrhačům, též mnohým vlastencům v cvičení se v něm liknavým a nedbalým* [Apology of the Czech language against slanderers as well as many countrymen negligent and indolent in the practice of the language] (1783); *Karl Ignaz Thams neuestes, ausführliches und vollständiges deutsch-böhmisches synonymisch-phraselogisches Nationallexikon* [Karl Ignaz Thám’s latest, extensive and complete German–Czech national dictionary of synonyms and phraseology] (1788); *Über den Charakter der Slawen, dann über den Ursprung, die*

Schicksale, Vollkommenheiten, die Nützlichkeit und Wichtigkeit der böhmischen Sprache [Concerning the character of the Slavs and, further, the origins, destinies, perfections, utility and importance of the Czech language] (1803).

Context

In the late eighteenth century two elements were particularly important for the emergence of a Czech national consciousness. The first was the cultivation of national history, still predominantly understood as the history of the nation in territorial, rather than ethnic, terms (i.e., a political nation of estates). The other was the study of the indigenous language. Czech patriots began to resent the fact that the use of the Czech language and literature in Czech was declining. Hence, many patriots at the early stage of the national movement devoted themselves to defending the mother tongue and working for its renewal. Between 1773 and 1793, more than ten publications defending the Czech language appeared, and many others were circulated in manuscript form. Such a genre of literature was not totally new; works in defense and praise of the language were written in Bohemia as early as the sixteenth century. What was new was the frequency and structure of the arguments. In 1773, a leading aristocrat, Count Franz Joseph Kinsky, published his *Erinnerung über einen wichtigen Gegenstand, von einem Böhme* [The recollection of an important matter by a Bohemian]. In 1775, the historian František Martin Pelcl published *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica, praecipue Bohemica* (1672), an apology of Czech written by Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688), the noted Czech Baroque historian, poet, and educator. In 1783 the *Empfehlung der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur* (A recommendation of the Czech language and literature) by the Moravian patriot Johann Alois Hanke von Hankenstein was published. Thám's 'Apology,' the most emotional of such works, was published in the same year.

By the end of the eighteenth century, more or less two positions on the question of how to avert the decay of the language had appeared. On the one hand, **Josef Dobrovský**, František Martin Pelcl, and Jan Nejedlý stressed that the heyday of the Czech language was its 'classical period', the sixteenth century. They argued that the writings from this period should therefore be treated as the foundation for the normative structure of the modern language. On the other hand, the Thám brothers and František Jan Tomsa had serious doubts whether the old literature alone could serve as the basis for a modern language and suggested taking into account contemporary spoken Czech and various dialects as well. This was an attempt to rehabilitate the 'Baroque

form' of Czech, which Dobrovský and, later, **Josef Jungmann** condemned as 'decadent.' The controversy lasted for years, and concerned not only the codification of grammar, but also questions of orthography and lexical enrichment. Eventually, the conservative 'academic' concept prevailed, although the Tháms and their plays—together with writers of popular literature such as Jan Nepomuk Rulík and Václav Kliment Klicpera—were more instrumental than the scholars in spreading patriotic ideas among the masses.

The *Obrana jazyka* is a rather long essay. It is organized into four main themes, with the same arguments often repeated. First, using a historical argument he points to the 'glory' of the Czech language that had once served as an official language of the 'Czech State' and its élite. Thám enumerates many important historical figures who had used Czech for their writings and refers to the flexibility of Czech and its ability to express eloquently the most difficult ideas. Secondly, using an aesthetic argument he refers to the euphony of the language (in contrast to German), the beauty of words, and the abundance of synonyms, metaphors, and so forth. Lastly, on practical grounds he seeks to persuade the upper classes of the utility of knowing Czech in order to communicate with the common people. In the end, after a highly exaggerated attempt to prove its vast territorial spread, Thám asks the Emperor for a helping hand in the defense of the Czech language.

Since the early nineteenth century Thám's *Obrana jazyka*, together with other 'language apologies,' had been regarded as an important element in the beginnings of the 'national awakening'. Language *per se* became one of the crucial identity-building tools. At the time of their origin, however, 'language apologies' manifested vague aims and fuzzy notions about what practical action had to be taken in order to improve the position of the mother tongue. These texts seem to have been more important in assuring Czech patriots of their own activity than in spreading patriotic ideas among the people. At the same time, they laid the foundations for the 'philological bent' or 'linguocentrism' of early Czech national culture, in which the cultivation of the language played the prominent role. (See **Josef Jungmann**, *Second conversation concerning the Czech language*)

MK

**Apology of the Czech language
against slanderers as well as many countrymen negligent
and indolent in the practice of the language**

It seems unnecessary to me to have to demonstrate something obvious and provide reasons for it. For does not universal common experience alone demonstrate that no nation is so dim or mad as not to love the language of its fathers sufficiently to protect it carefully and try to cultivate it with all its aspirations and zeal? [...]

Nevertheless, I can at this point neither keep silent nor talk without pride about the Bohemian Lands, our beloved country, which once gave birth to countless men of the lowest and highest houses, indeed emperors and kings, whose ever vigilant, tremendous endeavors to cultivate the natural language surely do not deserve to be suppressed for long and erased from memory as a result of antiquity or the mere indifference and neglect of their descendents, but deserve instead to remain in the minds of men as an eternal memory. Charles IV,¹ emperor of blessed memory, being a special friend and protector of the Czech language, issued strict orders in the Bohemian Lands that only Czech should be used in all town halls and courts of law, councils and assemblies. [...] The records provide evidence that on his orders even the sons of princes of the Empire had to learn Czech from the age of seven. Another emperor, Ferdinand I,² to prove himself a zealous proponent of the Czech language, ordered the Prague town council, which welcomed him in Latin through his Vice Chancellor [Georg Sigmund] Seld, to respond in Czech. The fact that 132 years ago laws were issued for the Czechs only in the Czech language and that from the chairs of speakers and judges and seats in the assemblies only Czech words were heard are testified to unanimously by writers, and land rolls and town registers written in Czech are at hand. [...]. From the many extant books we can clearly see that in centuries past, too, no small number of men, not only from among the burgesses but also from the highest estate, could be found who greatly respected the language of our fathers and exerted much effort for its refinement and cultivation. In these books they wrote about diverse matters and also faithfully translated from foreign lan-

¹ Charles IV Luxemburg (1316–1378), emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and king of Bohemia. He is regarded as the greatest medieval ruler in Bohemia.

² Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503–1564), archduke of Austria, who after the Battle at Mohács in 1526 was elected Czech and Hungarian king by the estates and laid the groundwork for the multinational Habsburg Empire that was to last until 1918.

guages into their own, in such a way that not only did they equal the foreigners in this but also, in fact, surpassed them. [...]

Those, then, are the zealous endeavors and the hard work our fathers undertook for the preservation and cultivation of the language. Behold how bravely and heroically they faced that dreadful danger! Blush with shame, O descendants of theirs, you who have deviated far, far from the paths of your famous ancestors! [...]

I accuse you, O cursed freemen and nobles, you almost yielded to laxness and neglect. Love of country, which should always burn bright, has, alas, been extinguished. And behold, the love of country in the hearts of your compatriots, which had almost taken fire, was extinguished! [...]

O you countrymen who, following the example of those freemen, have shown disdain for your language, and who have not yet devoted any care to knowing it or cultivating it, open your eyes! Does not experience demonstrate that many countrymen know next to nothing about the language of their forefathers, and if they do know how to speak it, then they are embarrassed about it, and impudently mumble and disfigure it? Has it not been affirmed many a time that some people, desiring the demise of our language and seeking to bring this about, have tried hard to destroy it, but soon saw that all their hateful intentions and conspiracies were utterly crushed, so that they never sought to do so again.

All the reproaches and criticism of that vicious mob are, however, in vain, futile; anybody knowledgeable about languages must see that the Slavonic or Czech language is ennobled with such qualities that it indeed far surpasses foreign languages. Clearly, in terms of completeness and pithiness, our language towers above the others; for, just as our reason rejoices in the fact that it understands and comprehends things as they are in themselves, so, too, language, when it expresses things as they naturally occur, such that the natural voice, clamour, noise, cry, rattle, rustle, whisper and sound of every single thing seems almost to echo in our ears, by means of which its essence acquires its features and is formed in our minds.

When we look at the early stages of the Czech language we therefore find that names and words come mostly from their true natural origin. For it is not only the names of animals which were invented and created from their own natural voices, and the names of trees and plants from their natural effects or from some natural characteristic; but words by which our human movements, behavior and activity are expressed also come originally from some natural sound, such as is made, for example, by the arms, legs and mouth or by water, wind, wood and stone. [...]

Concerning pronunciation, I do not know whether everything could be said so pithily, explicitly, decoratively, delightfully and smoothly by any language other than Czech. For even if foreign languages contain all kinds of sounds and voices, almost all of them occur already in our language. Other languages comprise only twenty-four letters (*litterae*); Czechs have in their language, apart from those twenty-four, another seven, each of which makes a sound different from the natural sound, and which Germans pronounce clumsily and with difficulty. From this it follows that the native Czech so easily learns every other foreign language and can deftly and promptly pronounce its letters. And, although from these various tones and sounds that run together many words seem to be harsh, and the long pronunciation of softened consonants (*consonantes liquidate*) seems incomprehensible to others, it does not follow from that this language is harsh, hard and clumsy—a reproach truly unjustifiable.

Let the person who knows neither Czech nor German say which of these two languages sounds sweeter and more delightful. [...]

And some wiseacre will appear, asserting that Czech uses many derived and bastard words. I do not deny that long ago some foreign words were adopted for our language. None the less, it should first be said that, thanks to the many migrations of wandering peoples, the campaigns, intercourse, trade with other nations, and the adoption of a foreign religion, the languages in Europe too were often partly mixed up and confused, partly enriched, so that there is not one language in Europe which has not borrowed some word from a foreign language, altered it and made it its own according to its own pronunciation. Although Latin was among the original languages, it appropriated no small amount from Greek. In the same way, the Czech language also borrowed some words and made them its own. [...]

Concerning the admixing of German words into our language, however, I see its cause in the following: many people, assuming that if today they knew how to speak only Czech they would not achieve any rank, pay scant attention to Czech, and with their sputtering they defile and violate it shamefully. It is partly owing to haste and inattention, partly owing to inability, because they do not read Czech books in which they would surely often find correct Czech words, albeit somewhat stale and outmoded.

Furthermore, I blame also the fact that Czechs living and dealing with Germans, and who understand the German language well, mix many German words into their own language and become accustomed to adopting them. [...]

But, apart from these and similar words which have crept in, rarely will you find a German word in our language. Oh how cheap and low are the reproaches and objections of such faultfinders! Certainly the German language, though now flourishing, is to a far greater extent, owing to a simple shortage of its own words, contaminated with Greek, Latin and other words. [...]

Anybody who knows the Czech and German languages will testify to the fact that many things which cannot be said in German, or, at best, can be said only very crudely, can be expressed in Czech without difficulty and in a single word. For example: the words *jakost* (quality), *jakotnost* (quantity), *cis-ařovati* (to rule as an emperor), *kralovati* (to reign, to rule as a king), *vévoditi* (to rule as a duke; to rule over; to dominate), *hrubnouti* (to grow coarse or gross), *hlupnouti* (to become stupid), *mladistvěti* (to grow young), *srdnatěti* (to become brave), *bujeti* (to run wild), *narůžiti* (to become passionate), *vášniti* (to incense, perturb), *zvášnivěti* (to give in to passion, become passionate), *olyzati* (to lick), *opěšati* (to have to go on foot; to lose one's horse), *vlasatěti* (to become hairy), *rukatěti* (to become long or large handed) and *zubatěti* (to teethe).

Many things that in Czech differ in their meaning and are usually always expressed with different words must be expressed in the German language with only one word. For example, *řezám* (I cut, e.g., gems, wood, flowers), *stříhám* (I clip, shear, crop; I cut hair) and *krájím* (I carve up, slice, mince, chop) exist in German only as *ich schneide* (I cut), just as *foukám* (I blow) and *troubím* (I trumpet, blow, sound, wind) as *ich blase* (I blow); *pálím* (I scorch, parch, burn; I smart) and *hořím* (I burn, I am on fire, I catch fire, I glow with, am aglow) as *ich brenne* (I burn); and *hvíždám* (I whistle, whizz, pipe) and *pískám* (I whistle, blow, pipe, pip, whizz, creak, screech, shriek, hiss) as *ich pfeife* (whistle). I could provide many similar words where the German language is limited, but wanting to be brief, so as not to be burdensome, I prefer to omit them. It must surely be clear now that the denunciations by non-Czechs are unfounded and utterly nonsensical. Why, when it comes to our language, do you dullards reproach things that in your own language you consider almost a sort of ornament? Why do you have so little respect for our language, in which everything can be so concisely, exquisitely and pithily expressed, unlike in your own language, as I have clearly demonstrated with the examples provided above. [...]

But perhaps somebody will speak up, asserting that the Czech language, though more splendid than other languages, is of no use to anybody and that few can know whether it will always have its place in Bohemia. Oh, how erroneous the assumption of that fool; what a dim-witted conclusion! Can he

foresee whether he will be called to some office or rank in which the Czech language will be beneficial or necessary for him? Can he be sure that he will not enter some office of the clergy or the military where knowledge of the Czech language will be very much to his benefit? If somebody is in charge of subordinates and has no knowledge of their language, he must be totally reliant on his clerks, by whom he may not only be deceived, but he himself, out of ignorance, might commit many gross errors. It is obvious that subjects are better disposed towards their lord and ruler, and more easily and readily carry out his orders, when they can communicate with him in person and can present their request to him directly.

Nobody can deny that the Czech language is widespread not only in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and Silesia, but also in Hungary and in the Slavonian, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Wallachian, Ukrainian, Russian and Tatar lands, as well as in Moldavia and also in Turkey and in the land of Anatolia all the way to the lands of Armenia and Persia. [...]

O, my dear countrymen, buttresses and pillars of the homeland, if only those Czechs who have become cold towards and lazy about the improvement of their country would follow in your footsteps and genuinely endeavor to show that they are genuine, loyal countrymen. O, how blissful we would be, how we would rejoice, we who are now full of sadness and regret. O, most powerful Josef [Emperor Joseph II], solace and hope of the lamenting Czechs, you who have exhibited an exceptional love of their language (traveling through all the districts of these excellent Slavonic parts and casting your merciful gaze on them), look to the honor that is being done to the language, and defend it!

Translated by Derek Paton

DIMITRIOS KATARTZIS: ADVICE TO THE YOUTH

Title: Συμβουλή στους νέους πᾶς νά ὠφελιοῦνται καὶ νά μὴν βλάπτονται ἀπ’τα βιβλία τα φράγκικα καὶ τα τούρκικα καὶ ποῖα νὰ εἶναι ἡ καθ’ αὐτό τους σπουδὴ (Advice to the youth on how they should profit from and not be harmed by Frankish and Turkish books and what should be their proper education)

Originally published: Written in Bucharest, most probably in 1783, but remained a manuscript until it was published in Constantinos Th. Dimaras, *Δημήτριος Καταρτζής, Τα Ευρισκόμενα* (Athens: Ερμής, 1970)

Language: Greek

The excerpts used are from: Constantinos Th. Dimaras, ed., *Δημήτριος Καταρτζής, Δοκίμια* (Athens: Ερμής, 1974), pp. 43, 44, 46, 49, 50, 56, 57, 69.

About the author

Dimitrios (Panagiotakis Fotiadis) Katartzis [between 1720 and 1725, Constantinople (Istanbul) – 1807, Bucharest]: Phanariot high official, scholar and teacher. His education in Constantinople was typical for a Phanariot of the time, based largely on learning both Arabic and Persian, but also Western languages. However, he also grew familiar with ancient Greek literature, especially Aristotle. Moreover, through his French teacher he was introduced to the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D’Alembert and the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau. The first work attributed to him is an ‘elegy of heroes’ written in 1777 in honor of Alexandros Ypsilantis (*Rom.* Alexandru Ipsilanti) prince of Wallachia (r. 1775–1782, 1796–97) and also prince of Moldavia (r. 1786–1788), and bearing the signature of Paharnikos (‘cupbearer,’ *Rom.* paharnic) Dimitrakis Panagiotakis. It was thanks to the support of the aforementioned prince that, in 1779, Katartzis was appointed as president of the High Court in Bucharest, and was also given the honorary title of Grand Kloutziaris (*Rom.* marele clucer).¹ He later received other offices up to the rank of Grand Logothete (*Rom.* logofăt), the highest lay administrative office within the hierarchy in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. His fame in Bucharest soon grew, attracting students such as **Rigas Velestinlis**, **Grigorios Constantas** and **Daniil Philippidis**. Katartzis did not begin writing

¹ Approximately ‘Lord Steward’: the office initially referred to the duties of the general overseer of war provisions.

until 1783. This first period of his literary endeavors, which lasted until 1791, was marked by his use of the vernacular, whereas, from 1791 onwards, he turned to a more conservative style. However, he never ceased to support the vernacular language. Much of his writings remained unpublished until recently. Obviously, his conservative ideas did not correspond to the demands of the emerging nationalist revolutionary generation, which felt much more attuned to the intellectual trends of the West. Yet his linguistic innovation was also rejected as incompatible with the Phanariot tradition. For all this, Katartzis' main contribution remains the initiation of a critical approach towards tradition and ecclesiastical education, which was transmitted to his students and paved the way for the proliferation of secular ideas at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Main works: *Συμβουλή στους νέους πῶς νά ὠφελοῦνται καί νά μήν βλάπτονται ἀπτά βιβλία τά φράγκικα καί τά τούρκικα καί ποιὰ νά εἶναι ἡ καθ' αὐτό τους σπουδή* [Advice to the youth on how they should profit from and not be harmed by Frankish and Turkish books and what should be their proper education] (1783); *Ἐγκώμιο τοῦ φιλοσόφου, μακαρισμοῦ τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου, ψόγος τοῦ ἄθεου, τάλάνισμα τοῦ δεισιδαίμων* [Encomium of the philosopher, beatification of the Orthodox, reproach of the atheist, torment of the superstitious] (1785); *Λόγος προτρεπτικός στό νά κάμουμε δασκάλους στά ρωμαίικα, σέ καθ' ἐπιστήμ' ἢ ἐλευθέρια τέχν' ἢ ἀναγκαῖα ξενική γλώσσα* [A discourse urging us to make teachers of Greek, of every science or liberal art or necessary foreign language] (1786); *Λόγος προτρεπτικός εἰς γνῶθι σαυτόν καί στήν κοινήν παιδαγωγίαν τοῦ ἔθνους, ἡ σοφός, ἡμιμαθής, ἀμαθής* [A discourse urging one to know oneself and the common education of the nation, whether one is wise, semi-literate or illiterate] (1787). All these works remained in manuscript.

Context

While subjected to the Sublime Porte, the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia traditionally enjoyed a certain level of autonomy. Since the early eighteenth century, however, the Ottoman administration offered members of the prominent Greek-Orthodox Phanariot families the privilege of ruling as *hospodars* (princes), displacing the local boyar notables. Despite the resentment and hardships that Phanariot rule engendered in the local population, the support of ambitious Greek-speaking *literati* from all over the Balkans encouraged the proliferation of a wide spectrum of activities, ranging from economic enterprise, albeit often in the form of gross profiteering, to scholarly production and political agitation. In this way the system of patronage in the courts of Iași and Bucharest attracted a range of scholars, teachers, clergymen and bureaucrats (see **Daniil Philippidis** and **Grigorios Constantas**, *Novel geography*). These *literati* soon came to realize that education was in need of radical reform. For instance, they considered it detrimental to the efforts for educational regeneration that the offspring of dignitaries and officials did not attend ordinary schools like other children. The

necessity for an educational reform that would eliminate such discrimination led to the initiation of groundbreaking projects. For instance, in January 1776 the prince of Wallachia, Alexandros Ypsilantis, the grandfather of the hero of the Greek War of Independence, took measures aimed at the implementation of a new educational policy. However, the decisive push was given by the appointment of Mikhail Soutzos (*Rom.* Mihai Șuțu) as prince of Wallachia in 1783. A very competent administrator, Soutzos granted his support to the promotion of Greek education.

The scholars of this early period, most of them clergymen, were familiar with the content of the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D'Alembert, the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau and the scientific ideas of Copernicus and Newton. The primary necessity they encountered was the translation into Greek of the major works of these figures. Such endeavors were welcomed and funded by patrons of the arts, but they also raised serious concerns. The ecclesiastic hierarchy opposed the translation of "Frankish" texts—namely, texts of Western origin, with obvious Catholic, Protestant or, even worse, atheistic references, alien to the Orthodox tradition. Thus, any similar project would have to be articulated in such a manner so as not to infringe on the integrity of Orthodox principles.

It was within this political and intellectual environment that Katartzis produced the bulk of his work. In his essays 'Advice to the youth,' Katartzis' major concern is the contribution of education to the progress of the nation. This demand stems from the realization that education in the Greek lands is in a state of decay. The picture becomes gloomier when compared to the achievements of other European nations. However, he claims, not only does Greek—*Grekiki* or *Romeiki*—and European education share the same origins, but the former has recently been promoted by important scholarly figures. Consequently, Katartzis attributes the low level of Greek education to the choice of language. He therefore suggests that education should be offered in the present-day Greek language: *Romeika*.

Apart from education, however, Katartzis is also preoccupied with the need to define the nation. He describes the reasons why, in his view, his homeland can be attributed both the features of a 'nation' and of a 'polity'—despite the fact that it is dominated by the Ottomans. Moreover, he uses alternatively and interchangeably the terms *genos* (stock) and *ethnos* (nation), namely, the pre-modern and modern denomination of the nation. Most importantly, he builds a scheme for the continuity of the Hellenic nation, almost a century before **Constantinos Paparrigopoulos** and Spyridon Zambelios embarked on this task. He applies the same concept to language as well.

However, he makes a distinction between origin and identification. Roman Christians—*Romei hristiani* (i.e., modern Greeks)—are considered the descendants of the ancient Hellenes (*Ellines*), a term which, in his view, predominantly describes the pagans.

The ‘Advice to the youth’ is written in a comprehensible language which clearly bears many of the characteristics of the spoken idiom used by the Phanariot elite of the time. Katartzis was later on forced to abandon this path and adopt the archaic form he had so thoroughly rejected. Nevertheless, his ideas were to be espoused by his students, such as **Daniil Philippidis**, **Grigorios Constantas** and **Rigas Velesinlis**, who put his teaching into practice. Unfortunately, this did not prove enough to consolidate the use of the vernacular. In the first decades of the nineteenth century **Adamantios Korais**, a young intellectual who lived in Paris, introduced, as part of his life-long project to ‘educate his nation’, a ‘middle-way’ linguistic idiom, according to which forms in the vernacular were transformed in order to look more archaic. This idiom provided the basis for an even more archaic version known as *katharevousa* and was largely adopted by the administration and the education system of the Greek state. It would be more than a century after Katartzis that the language question returned to the cultural agenda of the intellectuals and politicians, and another century before it was eventually resolved with the recognition of *dimotiki* (the vernacular) as the official language of the state. It was only two years before the 1976 reform of Greek language and education that Katartzis’ surviving works were published for the first time by Constantinos Dimaras. The introduction provided by the pioneering Greek literary historian has largely shaped the contemporary reception of these works.

VK

**Advice to the youth on how they should profit
from and not be harmed by Frankish and Turkish books
and which should be their proper education**

[...] When I say Roman Christian, I mean the citizen of a nation who by both these names is declared to be a member of this political society from which he receives this unofficial name. This society, therefore, having recognized political laws and express ecclesiastical regulations, makes him such, and different than anyone else who is a member of another polity with another religion. However, the vision of a Christian extends beyond this present

life to another, future life; whence it is inferred that such a citizen of ours will become thus [distinguished] in this respect, that is, the future life will be the purpose of his present life, rather than the opposite.

At the same time, I confess that we are not a nation which forms a polity of itself, but we are subjugated to another, predominant one; which is why, viewing it through the definition of the citizen given by Aristotle, certain Franks accuse us of not having a homeland. But this is not so; for the aforementioned writer thus distinguishes the citizen from the enslaved nations, who were called helots and outsiders, and who worked for the Spartans and Cretans as their actual farmers.² But we are not such, with the help of God, and if perhaps we do not take part in the administration of all aspects of our polity together with those in power, nevertheless we are not entirely uninvolved in it. Whence we constitute a nation in which our ecclesiastical rulers bind us to the supreme administration and among ourselves. In many respects, our ecclesiastical rulers are also our political rulers; many of our political laws, which are named *âdet* (customs), and all our ecclesiastical laws which are named *ayin* (religion),³ draw validity from their self-governing power.

[...] Therefore, being in a certain way a nation, and having this beloved soil as our homeland, we should have our own ideas that suit us, and which are different from those of Turkey, Italy or France (and characterize our nation and which a Roman Christian should study and make his own). And whether he studies and reads Turkish books, or leaves and gains knowledge of Frankish books, like a bee he must also drink of the ideas of his own people, in order both to know them and to make them known to his nation, either by his mouth or by his pen, just like the Hellenes, Plato and the others, who, going to Egypt and India, and learning the wisdom [of those lands], returned to their own nation and homeland, and made known and handed over to the Hellenes the riches they had gained. Therefore, those of us who learn foreign languages and thus, in a way, emigrate to other nations, should not remain there and deny their homeland, deserting and condemning themselves to eternal flight, but they should return again to their country; that is to say, that, passing over these different ideas, they should appropriate those which are

² The two lower classes among the population in Ancient Sparta were the *περίοικοι* ('outsiders'—free inhabitants without citizenship) and the *ἐλλώτες* (helots). The second term has come to denote "slave" in Modern Greek.

³ By using the Arabic terms of *âdet* (customary practice) and *ayin* (religious practice), the author makes a distinction between the secular and the religious order within Ottoman society.

fitting and beneficial to their nation, and it is only these ideas which they should glorify and always have in their mouth or write down and disseminate through the pen.

[...] But this exaggerated tendency in Greek education and language, observed in certain personages of ours, who consider it an honor to be also referred to as Hellenes, is a thing unworthy of a Roman Christian. Just as we were first named Greeks, *zaer*,⁴ as they say, and named so by some great man, who was undoubtedly called a king then (because it is not just anyone who gives a name to a nation), and this was the name with which we became known to the nations to our west; then we changed it and took the name Hellenes, but the aforementioned nations did not change the name [they used]; only the Eastern nations, which probably first became acquainted with us at that time, called us *Yunani*,⁵ i.e., Ionians. In the years after the birth of Christ, and after we received our religion, we were named Christians, and it was the pagans we called Hellenes, that is to say, the name of a religion. After that, when Constantine the Great moved the kingdom to Constantinople, we were named Romans, and that is how all the nations of the world referred to us, and so we became accustomed to always refer to pagans by the name Hellenes.

[...] And we keep this and we call ourselves Romans, slightly altering its pronunciation. That name, then, which, from the birth of Christ up until our captivity, was used for so many centuries and its meaning was confirmed with the passing of time to mean pagan, how can certain personages, going against the very rules of grammar, dare to change the meaning of a word and call themselves Hellenes, and not deem it a disgrace since they are Christians and an infamy since they are Romans, when our Roman progenitors did not accept it, save for one, Julian the Apostate⁶, who delighted in calling himself a Hellene? But besides our personages, whom I mentioned, our entire nation nowadays, when they say Hellene, they mean pagan; and were we to take it simply in its first meaning as a national name, he who studies the Hellenic language does not become a Hellene, just as the one who learns another language does not assume that nationality. It is the same with education: we

⁴ Dimaras in his glossary for the critical edition of Katartzis's texts translates the term as 'certain.'

⁵ This is the term the ancient Persians used in order to refer to the ancient Greeks. The word was appropriated by the Arabs and then by the Turks who use it today in reference to modern Greeks.

⁶ Roman emperor (361–363 AD), who wished to suppress the Christian faith and resuscitate the ancient Greek religion.

should not receive it in order to become distinguished in that [education] in particular, and to appear as if we have escaped from the Peripatetic School⁷ and the Stoa,⁸ but in relation to the Church and the Fathers, in order to resemble that which we are named: Christians, and indeed to cultivate and to enrich our language, *romeika* (modern Greek), so that we have a language of our own, and we use the name of the nation and its language interchangeably, and, by receiving an education proper to us, we adorn them both with this wise adjective [*romeiko*]; and then it will not be a disgrace to say that our ancestors were the Hellenes, a great honor, without usurping the name. [...] Young people nowadays, who all apply themselves to studying, complete their primary courses mostly in [ancient] Greek, and then immediately move on to the Frankish and Turkish languages, devoting themselves wholly to them; it is clear, then, that this was a natural development; because our ancestors found that it was in their interest [to study foreign languages], we increased our devotion to this, in order for our benefits to multiply. But cannot the same thing, being good in one respect, be bad in another? And how is it bad? It is obvious: firstly, he who did not learn philosophy at an early age cannot study it at a later age in a foreign language, that is to say, he may learn philosophy, but he will never develop a philosophical mind. Consequently, our nation begins to be filled with that which it shouldn't, [i.e.] foreign ideas, young people do not have the ones [ideas] that are fitting to us, they eliminate from the [ancient] Greek texts even the Christian ideas included in them, they love other nations, hating our own, they are indifferent to our religion; and if a reasonable course of action is not adopted, the natural consequence will be that the youth of the next generation will not even study their primary courses in Greek, and the absurdity in this is obvious. And which is this course of action? Someone else may name another; but it seems to me that we cannot go back [in time], for that is impossible; therefore, in order to eliminate the absurdities which have begun and are destined to increase greatly, the present is and should be the time to begin cultivating *romeika*, that is what I put forth; that, by acquiring a language of our own under the conditions expounded in my writings, our descendants will be able to replace with it that which they cannot do in [ancient] Greek, and that which was not written in *romeika* from our capture onwards, or, of course, that which can

⁷ From the Greek word *περίπατος* (walk). The school of Aristotle, whose students were supposed to walk as they participated in courses and discussions.

⁸ From the Greek word *στοά* (gallery). The Stoics were disciples of the Greek philosopher Zeno and their teachings evolved around the power of *Λόγος* (Reason).

sometimes not be done in any other way, no longer having such an absolute need for foreign languages as they do now, especially since not everyone has the capacity [to learn them].

[...] Those parents, therefore, who, I have no doubt, will agree with me to prepare their young sons for their nation and their century, that is to say, as Roman Christians, must follow my advice for their own good and for the benefit of their heirs; they must take care that the foundation of their [children's] studies is their own language, and that it is for its sake that they study [ancient] Greek and everything else. With regard to foreign languages, they must not let their children study them on their own, but make them study these [languages] with their Christian teachers, so that the youth will not distance itself from our principles, which are healthy and salvational. Moreover, the parents themselves, when they have the power, should directly watch over both the teachers and the students, whether each one is doing his work well. And thus, in time, it may come about that we will have almost no need for foreign teachers; something that is most necessary for the common good and the good of each one: that is to say, of the young, the parents and the teachers, and therefore of this entire unfortunate polity of ours.

Translated by Mary Kitroeff

DOSITEJ OBRADOVIĆ: LETTER TO HARALAMPIJE

Title: *Pismo Haralampiju* (Letter to Haralampije)

Originally published: Leipzig, Breitkopf printing house, 1783

Language: 'Slavo-Serbian,' an artificial literary language of the eighteenth century, resulting from the fusion of Church Slavonic and the vernacular spoken by Serbian merchants in Vojvodina and in the Ottoman Empire

Reprinted in *Izbor poučnih sastava Dositeja Obradovića* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruka, 1904), pp. 101–117. Existing English translation in *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradovic*, ed. and transl. G. R. Noyes (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), 129–137.

About the author

Dositej Obradović [ca.1740, Čakovo (Banat), (*Rom.* Ciacova, present-day Romania) – 1811 Belgrade]: Orthodox monk, writer, teacher, and politician. He was born Dimitrije Obradović, but was renamed Dositej in 1757 when he became a monk. In his early childhood his parents died and he was raised by a foster family. In 1760, with the blessing of his abbot, he left the monastery to pursue his education. He went to Zagreb to study Latin and became a teacher in Dalmatia. Soon after, he traveled to Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, Germany, France, England, and Russia. During these travels he learned Greek, German, English, Italian, and French, and enriched his knowledge in the fields of philosophy, the natural sciences and literature. In 1782 he left his monastic order and enrolled at the University of Halle, where he was strongly encouraged to write and publish his own works. In the 1780s and 1790s he wrote a series of works popularizing the philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment, especially in the form of moral tales and parables. During the First Serbian Uprising he gave both financial and moral support to the leaders of the movement. In 1806 he left Trieste and went to Serbia to offer concrete help in building new institutions. He was one of the founders of the first Serbian high school, the *Velika škola* in Belgrade. Moreover, he became responsible for education in the government of Serbian insurgents and was in charge of the education of the son of **Karadorđe**, the leader of the Uprising. Dositej is considered the most prominent figure of the Enlightenment in Serbia. His works were mostly free adaptations of foreign texts ('Advices of sound reason,' 'fables,' and others). In terms of genre his works are heterogeneous, including anecdotes, mor-

alistic essays, philosophical treatises, fables (Obradović's favorite form), occasional verses, and even a drama. He also had a considerable impact on Bulgarian and Romanian culture at the turn of the nineteenth century. He has been praised as the first rationalist and modern thinker among the Serbs and a radical champion and propagator of the ideas of the Enlightenment in Southeast Europe.

Main works: *Život i priključenja Dimitrija Obradovića narečenog u kaluđerstvu Dositeja* [Life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović, in his monastic name Dositej] (1783); *Sovjeti zdravago razuma* [Advices of sound reason] (1784); *Sobranje raznih naravoučiteljih veščej* [Collection of various moral writings]; *Pismo Haralampiju* [Letter to Haralampije] (1783); *Basne* (Fables) (1788).

Context

A fugitive monk, Obradović became a free-thinker in the spirit of the eighteenth century, and is now considered the first modern Serbian writer. His *oeuvre* consists of literary, historical and political writings written with the aim of liberating culture, and particularly literature, from the influence of religious bigotry, which thus makes him a paradigmatic representative of the Southeast European itinerary of Enlightenment ideas. While paying tribute to Byzantine and Orthodox cultural traditions, Obradović clearly advocates assimilation to 'Western' elite culture; he demanded that the confessional presuppositions of the earlier culture be left behind and envisioned the creation of a vernacular literature according to the classical and modern West European models. This program was concisely formulated in his Enlightenment manifesto, 'Letter to Haralampije,' and in broad strokes on the basis of his own experiences in his main (autobiographical) work, 'Life and adventures' (vol. I, 1783; vol. II, 1788).

His efforts followed on the work of a number of writers and historians such as Gavriilo Stefanović Venclović (end of the seventeenth century – 1746), Jovan Rajić (1726–1801), Simeon Piščević (1731–1795), Jovan Muškatirović (1743–1809), and Zaharije Orfelin (1726–1785). In many ways these authors represent a sort of early Enlightenment—they emphasized in their writings the importance of the ideas of educating the people and stimulating a critical attitude towards ecclesiastical sources of knowledge. Although they also often emphasized the importance of reason and argued for the so-called 'popular language' (prostonarodni jezik) in contrast to the sacred languages, Obradović was the first who managed to put these ideas into practice by publishing in the vernacular his original works and various translations. This language, however, was neither that of the peasants nor of the

Serbs in Serbia or the Ottoman Empire as later standardized by Vuk Karadžić, but the idiom of the Serbian urban population of the Habsburg Empire.

The core of Obradović's project was fighting against prejudice, ignorance and illiteracy. He argued for the introduction of a common language, because he thought that this was the easiest way to introduce new ideas and spread knowledge to the population; and in this effort he used different popular genres, favoring especially the fable for its capacity to convey its message both to educated and uneducated readers. Seeking to stimulate his readers to use their reasoning capacities freely, he dedicated most of his works to the Serbian youth, encouraging them at the same time to invest in their education.

The 'Letter to Haralampije' summarizes Dositej's linguistic, political, and cultural program. It was written in April 1783 to a priest of the church of St. Spiridon in Trieste. It begins by depicting the circumstances in which Dositej was living at that time and continues with a request to his friend to support financially the publication of Dositej's work. Further, the publishing of books in the vernacular is defended as the most important way to educate as many people as possible, and particularly the youth, in order to "enlighten their minds and improve their characters." His wish is to be understood and appreciated by all social classes and territorial sub-groups of the nation: "all Serbian daughters and sons, from Montenegro to Smederevo and the Banat." This assertion also implies an early vision of the Serbian ethno-cultural space. His concept of a larger Serbian community across all political, cultural, and social borders is an attempt to confer cultural autarchy on the Serbians living in the Habsburg Empire.

In his own time, Dositej's work was valued as important, but also provoked critical reactions. **Vuk Stefanović Karadžić**, the famous language reformer, and **Petar Petrović Njegoš**, the Montenegrin prince-bishop and philosopher-writer, severely criticized Obradović, contending that his works were merely compilations from European contemporary writers and thus lacking originality. Further, they argued that Dositej's moral doctrine was not in accord with the "hypocrisy" in his real life, especially his acceptance of the patronage of despotic rulers like the Wallachian and Moldavian princes. From another perspective, contemporary civil and church authorities joined in accusing Dositej of heretical thoughts and deeds, and even attempted to prohibit the publication of his works. On the other hand, the democratic- and revolutionary-minded activists of the 'Serbian Youth' movement of the 1860s–1870s endorsed Dositej's services in furthering the 'spiritual libera-

tion' of the South Slavs, stressing his modern ideas on popular education, the utilitarian and practical value of science and philosophy, anti-clericalism and the emancipation of women. For these ideas Dositej Obradović was also revered by cultural revivalists and liberal nationalists outside of Serbia. His literary style, which initiated the standardization of popular Serbian and its transformation into a literary language, was imitated by many during the first half of the nineteenth century.

IE

Letter to Haralampije

[...] Let us take a look at the enlightened nations of all Europe. In this century all the nations have been trying to bring their dialects to perfection—a truly worthwhile undertaking, for when learned men set down their thoughts in the common language of the entire people, then the enlightenment of the mind and the light of learning remain not only in the domain of those who understand the old literary tongue, but they are disseminated and reach the peasants as well as even the simplest of folk and shepherds, provided that they can read. And how easy it is to learn to read in one's own tongue! Who would be loath to invest a little effort into learning to read, to read something wise and prudent and understand that which he reads with great ease? I know that there are those who could contradict me, saying that if we start writing in the common dialect, the old language will fall into disuse and will gradually become lost. To this I would answer, "What is the use of a language when barely one in ten thousand in the whole nation understands it properly and which is unintelligible to my mother and sisters?" "... So let them learn it!..." This is easier said than done. How many people have the time and ability to learn the old literary tongue? Very few! But the common, vulgar dialect is known to everyone and all who can read it can enlighten their minds, uplift their hearts and improve their characters. A language is worth only as much as it is used. And which language is of more use than the common language of the whole people?

The French and the Italians were not afraid that Latin would be lost if they started writing in their own languages, and indeed it was not lost. Our old tongue will also not be lost, because learned men of the people will always know it, and with the help of the old language the new one will improve from day to day. Muscovites print all their best books in their dialect using letters of the common people. Only the vulgar and ignorant are content to keep the

old ways forever. Why else did God give man reason, judgement and free will if not to let him judge, decide and choose that which is better? And what is better than that which is more useful? Anything that is of no use at all has no goodness in it. So why should we Serbs doubt the wisdom in following in the footsteps of other nations concerning such a worthwhile and commendable undertaking? The territory where Church Slavonic is spoken is not less than that of France or England, excluding a minor difference in pronunciation which occurs in all other languages too. Who does not know that the inhabitants of Montenegro, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia (apart from the Muži¹), Slavonia, Srem, Bačka and the Banat (except for the Romanians) speak one and the same language? Speaking on behalf of the peoples who live in these kingdoms and provinces, I understand the Greek Church as much as the followers of the Catholic Church, not excluding the Bosnian or Herzegovinian Turks either, since law and religion can change, but kinship or language can never change. A Bosnian or a Herzegovinian Turk is a Turk by law, but as far as language and kinship are concerned, whatever his great-grandfathers were, so will the last of his descendants be: Bosnians and Herzegovinians, until God decrees the end of the world. They are called Turks while the Turks rule that land; and when the real Turks return to their homeland where they came from, the Bosnians will remain Bosnians, and will be like their ancestors were. So I will be translating the thoughts and advice of famous and wise men so that everyone can benefit from them.

My book will be for everyone who understands our language and who, with a pure and true heart, desires to enlighten his mind and improve his character. I shall pay no heed at all to who belongs to which faith and obeys which law, nor are such matters to be heeded in this enlightened century.

Translated by Krištof Bodrič

¹ Muži: proper Croats, who spell out kay [meaning: what] instead of što.

JOSIP VOLTIC:

A DICTIONARY OF THE ILLYRIAN, ITALIAN AND GERMAN LANGUAGES

Title: *Ricsoslovník (vocabolario-Wörterbuch) illiriskoga, italianskoga i nimacskoga jezika s' jednom pridpostavljenom grammatikom (...) od Jose Voltiggi Istrijanina* (A dictionary of the Illyrian, Italian and German languages with an added grammar (...) by the Istrian Josip Voltić)

Originally published: Vienna, Joseph Kurzböck, 1803

Language: Latin (only the preface)

The present translation is based on the Croatian edition: *Bečka pisma. Ričoslovník*, translated by Mate Križman (Pula: Čakavski Sabor et al., 1981). Excerpts from pp. 115–119, 121, 128.

About the author

Josip Voltić (Voltiggi) [1750, Tinjan (*It.* Antignano, Istria) – 1825, Vienna]: writer, critic, lexicographer and translator. Born into a burgher family in the Austrian part of Istria, he was sent to Gorizia (*Slv.* Gorica, *Ger.* Görz) to attend the Jesuit grammar school, and afterwards to Zagreb, where he finished politico-cameral studies (advanced juridical course established by Queen Maria Theresa) at the Royal Academy of Sciences under the auspices of the Greek Catholic Bishop Trifun Vasilije Božičković (1719–1785). Subsequently, he moved to Vienna in order to study law. Unable to find a job in the administration in keeping with his juridical training, Voltić was compelled to seek employment in the well-known Viennese printing shop, *Die Typographische Gesellschaft*. There he dealt with different tasks such as finding patrons and translating, editing and distributing books, mostly in Italian. In 1789 he published the *Lettere viennesi*, in which he exposes his Masonic and republican views on social reforms and criticizes the incompetent bureaucratic apparatus, as well as the literary, social, and economic life in the capital. The discrepancy between Josephist theory and practice forms the focus of his criticism. At the turn of the century, Voltić was working in the Viennese Italian Opera. On the eve of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 he was charged with being a convinced “democrat, Jacobin and Bonapartist.” Denouncers accused him of wishing to publish a great work on Italy, extolling the former Napoleonic government and criticizing the contemporary Austrian imperial administration. Often under the surveillance of the secret police during the Metternich regime, Voltić was unable to finish either his epistolary collection of Illyrian authors or a historical treatise with the tentative title *De Illyrico illustrando*. Voltić’s lexicographic study, entitled ‘A dictionary of the Illyrian, Italian and German languages’ (1803), a practical work aimed primarily

for use in schools, has led to his designation as an important precursor of the Croatian 'National Revival.'

Main works: *Lettere viennesi di Giuseppe Voltiggi* [Viennese letters by Josip Voltić] (1789); *Lettera apologetica intorno al teatro italiano in Vienna contro le censure del Mercurio Austriaco* [An apologetic letter on the Italian theater in Vienna in reply to the censures of the Austrian Mercury] (1793); *Ricsoslovník (vocabolario-Wörterbuch) illiriskoga, italianskoga i nimacskoga jezika* [A dictionary of the Illyrian, Italian and German languages] (1803).

Context

In the 1780s Joseph II started to encourage men of letters of different nationalities in his domains to apply themselves to the standardization of their languages. In the ideology of enlightened absolutism the vernacular was thought to be the chief medium for popular enlightenment, in particular, through compulsory schooling, the result of which would be a community of citizens. Due to its institutional infrastructure and the location of the central censorship for Slavic books, Vienna was regarded as a center for the promotion of Slavic studies, headed by the Bohemian critical historical school and **Josef Dobrovský**. The Slavic languages spoken in the territory of the three former Croatian Kingdoms appeared to be especially problematic. The two dominant dialects—the 'Croatian-Slavic' or *kajkavian* variant and the 'Illyrian-Slavonian-Dalmatian-Slavic' or *štokavian* variant—were considered as separate languages, which made the standardization of their orthography an ongoing problem. In 1783 Joseph II established a linguistic-orthographic committee, which had to decide which were the most appropriate characters for the trilingual dictionary (Latin-Italian-Illyrian) by the Dubrovnik Franciscan Joachim Stulli.¹ The Slavonian spelling variant, based on the *štokavian* dialect which was the literary language of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dubrovnik and Dalmatia and of eighteenth-century Slavonian poetry, prevailed. This choice showed the importance of a refined and purified literary tradition in the national canon-building. The dictionary had to meet the standards of cultural universality, so it was compiled with the "Illyrians of both faiths"—Catholic and Greek Orthodox—in mind, and the orthography had to comply with the enlightenment standards of "universal understanding" and of

¹ Joachim Stulli (1730–1817), *Lexicon Latino-Italico-Illyricum ditissimum ac locupletissimum in quo adferuntur usitatiores, elegantiores, difficiliores earundem linguarum phrases, loquendi formulae ac proverbia*, 2 vols. (Buda, 1801).

“public benefit.” The difference from the previous attempts to standardize the Illyrian language lay in the fact that the decision was now to be made in Vienna. There it would be exposed to the semi-public discussion of the informal circles of the Slavic *literati*, who regarded the Illyrian language as a variant of the one and only Slavic language, which over time disintegrated into a multitude of dialects. Since Stulli’s dictionary was destined not to be published in Vienna, it was Voltić’s project that benefited from the results of the latest orthographic standardization.

Comparative Slavic studies, as they emerged in Vienna in the second half of the eighteenth century, embraced not only linguistic research but also the Enlightenment view of the history of the Slavs. Among the issues raised was the origin of the Slavic language and the question of which was the most cultured of its existing dialects, that could serve as the *lingua docta* among Slavic scholars. Enlightenment interest in etymologies and the search for the ‘universal language’ presupposed the temporality of national traditions as a criterion of cultural legitimization within the community of European nations, which prompted ‘Illyrian’ scholars to try to impose the cultural supremacy of their language. Antiquity served as the ideal of universality, upon which ever since the advent of Humanism the Illyrian identity had heavily relied. Apart from cultural legitimization, the neoclassical ‘Illyrian’ rhetoric served political purposes as well: in 1790, when demands came for the Magyar language to be introduced as the official language in the Kingdom of Hungary, philological and geographical investigations were used to prove that the Croats as a political nation were “autochthonous” on the territory of Illyrian Pannonia, unlike the Magyars who along with the Germans were “aliens,” and therefore any attempt of ‘Magyarization’ or ‘Germanization’ was illegitimate from the cultural point of view.

Josip Voltić compiled his trilingual Illyrian-Italian-German dictionary, along with a grammar, at the request of his patron, Baron Francesco Maria di Carnea Steffaneo, who was in 1801 appointed as plenipotentiary commissary in the newly acquired Austrian possessions in Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania. Unlike previous lexicographic attempts, Voltić’s places the Illyrian words first, and only then their Italian and German semantic equivalents. This practice was intended for Italian- and German-speaking business people, bureaucrats and soldiers who were required to learn Illyrian as a foreign language. Following the literary convention of the time, Voltić used the preface to the dictionary to set forth his views on the genesis of the Slavic language. In his general address to the readers, he included a short history of Roman Illyricum and its spatial definition extending from Russia to the Adriatic Sea,

which could represent a symbolic legitimization within the European tradition. However, such representations were not enough anymore, because the new Enlightenment paradigm demanded the evidence of alphabetization and printing as a measurement of progress. As Voltić himself attested, the Illyrian-speaking people still had no literature of their own, no common language, and used various alphabets, which all contributed to a diminished communication among its speakers. On the other hand, he argues, the ancient Illyrian population, which was autochthonous on its territory, had common origins, identical customs and one language, and their descendants were not only the South Slavs but also the Western Slavs and the Russians.

To the mind of the Enlightenment, the racial designation “Slavic” evoked the idea of a nation of unpolished wanderers. Voltić considered the sharing of a classical Illyrian ethnicity much more respectable as a symbolic framework for a collective identity. Correspondingly, Pan-Slavism was to be replaced by Pan-Illyrism, which is legitimized not only by “antiquity” but by the “amplitude” of the Illyrian name. In thus advocating the interchangeable use of the names “Slavic” and “Illyrian,” Voltić was following the sixteenth-century humanist tradition. Furthermore, while he acknowledges that the literary achievement of individual Slavic nations, such as the Poles, Czechs and Russians, is incontrovertible, he argues that they all still lack a *lingua docta*, a kind of Illyrian *koinē*, for which by custom the learned Latin, German, or Italian is usually substituted in communication. Voltić’s criticism of the inherent meaning of the qualifier “Slavic” could be interpreted as a discursive protest against the common representation of the European Slavs, the ‘Others’ to their Western counterparts.

Among contemporary Viennese Slavists like **Dobrovský** and the Slovenian Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844), Voltić’s uncritical mythological constructions were not well received. Kopitar, the author of the *Grammatik der slawischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steiermark* (1808), court censor for Slavic and Neo-Greek texts and custodian of the Court Library in Vienna, supported the so-called “Panonnian theory.” This theory, grounded in philologico-critical analyses of certain old-Slavic manuscripts, rejected the Illyrian name, and pronounced all the *kajkavian*-speaking Croats to be Slovenians, whereas the *štokavian* Croatian speakers were ethnically identified as Serbs. Voltić’s dictionary, however—popularly called the “*Vol-tiggi*”—was extensively used in Slovenian schools, especially in Carniola, because it included German equivalents of the Illyrian words, which made it appropriate for teaching non-Slavic speakers. In addition, it served as the basis for future Croatian dictionaries. Nevertheless, his lexicographic work

has been accorded modest acclaim in the history of Croatian lexicography, while his canonical status as an ‘enlightener’ is based primarily on his epistolographic output.

TSB

A dictionary of the Illyrian, Italian and German languages

In preparing this dictionary for publication, I felt compelled to say a few words in its preface about Illyricum and its language, and to say it in Latin. To wit, none of the three languages contained in the dictionary has spread among all nations so as to be understood everywhere by learned persons; moreover, throughout Illyricum there is no authentic literature, no single language common to writers, nor any uniform writing system; furthermore, the very letters of the alphabet, such as the Cyrillic, Glagolitic and more recent Russian ones, are so variable and in some cases overabundant in number that they divide the Illyrian people into several opposing groups, in such a way that it makes it quite impossible to write in an Illyrian that would be understood by all and be pleasing to all. Latin, on the contrary, has been embraced rightfully by all nations as the language of the learned world; that being the case, I have decided that I should use herein that language alone.

[...] Now, I would like to say a few words about Illyricum. Today, there is no other nation, no other language that is so widely spread and that includes so many peoples, or the dialects of which are so versatile, as this Illyrian. Albania, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, the foothill region of Istria, Carinthia, Carniola, Liburnia, Croatia, Bosnia, Slavonia, Serbia, Rascia, Bulgaria to Constantinople, the major part of Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, Russia and other regions spreading to the far north— all these regions together, because they are of the same origin and propagation, share the same language and almost the same customs—are called according to the ancient primeval name ILLYRICUM. This name as well as the Illyrian race has existed, according to Petavius’ chronology,² from almost the thirteenth century BC.

[...] Namely, for centuries, the Romans observed that all these peoples were of the same race, the same customs and the same language, which is why the Romans assembled them into one entity, whereas Illyricum, owing

² The Jesuit Dionysius Petavius (1583–1652) in 1627 invented the BC system of counting backwards from the supposed birth of Jesus Christ.

to its antiquity, fame and extent, was adorned by them with a special honorary name, *Quirinal*.³

Since Illyricum was not able to provide for its numerous population for an extended time, one segment of the population, the poorest one, was sent away from home, and traversed the Carpathian Mountains and inhabited wasted and uncultivated regions. When over the centuries a growing number of generations were not able to survive in one location because of cliffs, woods, swamps, lakes, cold climate, infertile soil and the stormy weather, they pressed on to the far north and inhabited the *New Country*. As spreading any further was not possible because of the sea, the overcrowded population was forced to return through ever unknown lands; scattering on all sides and preserving the same language, the peoples withdrew towards the south, until their very late descendants, as branches bearing different provincial and tribal names, merged again with the People, the one and the same for centuries, namely, the ancient Illyrian tree; and this they did without driving away the initial inhabitants from their homes or destroying them. Had the Roman Empire been able to chase continuously these generations, all of them would have come to be known as ILLYRICUM for ever and ever. Hence, peoples of the same origin and propagation, of the same language and almost the same customs, wherever they might be in the world, are always the same by nature and accordingly bear the same, inseparable common name. Thus the Dalmatians, the Carniolans, the Croats, the Bosnians, the Serbs, the Bulgarians, the Rascians,⁴ the Slovaks, the Moravians, the Bohemians, the Poles, the Russians, bear the glorious name of their forefathers, the ILLYRIANS.

It seems that the ominous fate of Illyricum comes from the fact that each of its above-listed peoples falsely believes itself to be totally separated from the rest and from its original race, and holds that every dialect is a language.

[...] I admit that I still do not know if there is a general history of Illyricum written in this vein. Whatever some more recent writers have produced in studying this matter is condensed and greatly limited, because driven by fraud and deception owing to an excessive love for fatherland and dialect, they are most frequently concerned with Dalmatia alone, Pannonia alone, Serbia alone, Slovakia alone, Poland alone, Russia alone, and in researching these matters they are enveloped in a thick fog of prejudice and mostly build castles in the air, while offering pure speculations and worthless conclusions as divine revelations; most of all, they do not mention in an appropriate man-

³ The other name for "Roman" (Quirinus = Romulus).

⁴ An archaic name for ethnic Serbs.

ner ancient ILLYRICUM. And for this I criticize them heartily: as if none of these regions and dialects have the slightest thing in common with the primeval beginnings of Illyricum, even though the Greeks and the Romans had deep respect for that Illyricum.

Works of such writers should be generally avoided, just as the untruth they boast of and laud to the skies must be rejected as pure nonsense. Alas, for God's sake, shall this people of miserable wanderers, that came to be known to the world for the first time in the seventh century by springing suddenly out of the soil, so to speak, or out of nothing, and that in our age still remains utterly rude and uncultivated, shall this nation, I ask, transmit its Slavic origin and name to the ancient people and language of the Illyrians? Should the Slavs perhaps be ashamed of giving credit to their primordial, glorious, ancient name? What madness that would be! Nobody who studies such matters with diligence and for a long time and whose learning is connected to truthfulness, prudence and moderation that earn him value and respect—none of these persons should be deterred by the works mentioned from bringing to light that which is richer and truer by far and which includes to a greater degree the totality of Illyricum.

Though the Illyrians differ among each other according to the names of their provinces and dialects, which can be seen in other nations [too], their origin, language and even customs, have, nonetheless, much in common even today. During the last spreading out of this People, their language moved from one region to another; its form was changed to a certain extent, new words were introduced into its vocabulary and some old ones were erased, which led to the creation of various dialects; however, the language has continued to be the indestructible monument of this People. As different peoples of common origin share the common name of ILLYRICUM, so it is desirable that one universal language for the learned should be created from so many dialects.

[...] If this were established, individual provinces would use their own dialects on an everyday basis, whereas the learned and educated world would write and speak the language created according to the above stated manner. If this were achieved, and it can be achieved with ease if the prevailing opinions do not present an impediment, every devotee of his native language and people will no longer need to be angry when he observes that many, instead of setting a good example, are posing by imitating foreign languages and customs in every conversation and by counting themselves among the foreign nations, while at the same time totally disrespecting and almost rejecting their native language and customs. Noble and polished men should be urged

to speak Illyrian continuously while enjoying the pleasures of the home in order to prevent the regression and perhaps one day the total destruction of this ancient and beautiful language.

[...] All dialects of the above-listed Illyrian peoples put together cannot stand comparison with the literatures of the other polished nations; they are still uttering the first cries of infancy; they are in the age in which Italian literature was by the end of the thirteenth century before Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio; [in which] French literature was much later, in the second half of the seventeenth century, before Pierre Corneille, Molière and Racine; [in which] German literature was around the twenties of the eighteenth century, before Gottsched, Gessner, Haller, Gellert, Hagedorn, Lessing and other major figures. Hence, let scholars, patrons and supreme authority alone unite in order to cherish and protect this language of which, in our age, merchants, travelers, military personnel, and civil servants stand in urgent need in all areas.

Translated by Iva Polak

JÓZSEF KÁRMÁN: THE REFINEMENT OF THE NATION

Title: *A' Nemzet Tsinosodása* (The refinement of the nation)

Originally published: 1795, in vol. III of the magazine *Uránia*

Language: Hungarian

The excerpts used are from *A nemzet csinosodása* (Budapest: Magvető, 1981), pp. 9, 11–15, 16, 19–20, 30–33, 38.

About the author

József Kármán [1769, Losonc (*Slo.* Lučenec, present-day Slovakia) – 1795, Losonc (?): writer, essayist, and editor. He came from a family of Protestant clergymen. In 1785 Kármán entered the University of Pest to study law. Three years later he moved to Vienna. He returned to Pest in the autumn of 1791 and started a career in the legal profession. In 1792 or 1793 he became a member of a Freemason lodge in Pest. Consequently, he formed connections with a number of Protestant noble families and gained support for establishing a literary association. Considering journalism a means of popularizing national literature, he was co-founder, with Gáspár Pajor, of the magazine *Uránia*, which reached three volumes in 1794–1795. His most important work, the letter-novel *Fanni hagyományai* (Fanni's Testaments), was first published in *Uránia* in 1794. The story of a young girl's unhappy love affair introduced a tone of sentimentalism in Hungarian literature. Apart from publishing a number of translations Kármán also wrote on the advancement of Hungarian literature and advocated the establishment of literary salons as a mean of developing the national culture. *Uránia* eventually collapsed due to economic difficulties. Kármán returned to Losonc in April 1795, threatened with detention because of his connections to people implicated in the 'Jacobin conspiracy.' He died the same year under unclear circumstances. His contribution to the creation of a Hungarian literary canon was recognized only retrospectively, in the 1840s, by the literary historian Ferenc Toldy, who depicted him a precursor of the romantic 'project' of national revival.

Main works: *Írásai és Fanni hagyományai* [Writings and Fanni's Testaments] (posthumous edition by Ferenc Toldy, 1843).

Context

The late 1780s and early 1790s saw the upsurge of a Hungarian opposition movement, an ambivalent reaction to Josephism, which created an upwardly mobile social layer of *homines novi*, but also, due to its Germanizing policies, provoked an enormous backlash and launched an ostentatious ‘national’ fashion. The political and intellectual change was also witnessed by the short revival of parliamentary politics in 1790. However, after the death of Emperor Leopold II in 1792 the policies of his successor, the conservative Francis II, were much more repressive and the public sphere that emerged during the previous decades shrank considerably. This encouraged the ‘invisible’ politics of secret societies and conspiracies, culminating in the ill-fated Martinovics-conspiracy, which was eventually crushed in 1795. Kármán was at the margins of this movement of discontent. His cultural project was manifested in the magazine *Uránia*, which claimed to be a magazine for female readership, but had the obvious intention of forming public opinion through this seemingly innocent medium.

While Kármán’s cultural-political program was that of the Enlightenment (thus subscribing to key ideas like climatic determination, the need for refined social interaction, the polishing of language, and the connection of morality and knowledge), his literary affinities made him the most important representative of Hungarian sentimentalism, and he was also among Goethe’s first Hungarian admirers. Consequently, his project was to create an enlightened public not only through the appeal to reason but also by cultivating the emotional culture of his readers, by “turning to their heart.” ‘The refinement of the nation’ is his most theoretical text. It formulates an ‘affective’ theory of culture, emphatically rejecting the classical identity-narrative of the Hungarian gentry in its retreat to ‘Arcadian’ rural solitude. Instead, he argues for a ‘national literature’ as a means of cultural, and eventually political, development. Thus, in contrast to the privilege-based understanding of the nation cultivated by the nobility, Kármán envisioned a ‘national’ community as a new form of sociability, an emerging public sphere concentrated in urban spaces, based not on inherited status but on shared cultural values.

Kármán starts his text with a warning against the self-congratulatory mood of certain cultural figures who hailed the appearance of Hungarian-language literary works as a full-fledged cultural rebirth, and ponders the achievements and future tasks of the national literature. He stresses that the process of refinement (the Hungarian ‘*csinosodás*’ echoes concepts such as the French *politesse*, as well as the German ‘*Bildung*,’ a theme taken up by Moses Men-

delssohn, whose essay on the Enlightenment was translated by Gáspár Pajor) had yet to see significant results, and the Hungarians are still among the 'rustic nations.' The 'unpolished' Hungarian has the potential for Enlightenment, as he has a natural intelligence and feeling, but he lacks the minimal cultural and scientific education, or sinks into self-serving idleness in his limited knowledge about the world.

The only way to promote the new culture is to create a literary public and to educate its taste. The aim can be reached only through the polishing of the language; for this reason the results of science must be 'wrapped' in 'readable' literature. This is why Kármán criticizes the artificial constructions of the language-reformers, which created a gap between the commonly spoken language and high culture. Questioning the usefulness of translating works from more advanced cultural contexts, he asserts that only a 'national literature' with local cultural references is able to have a serious impact on the public. Finally, he also touches upon questions regarding the public role of literature, particularly the issue of censorship (where he evokes **Joseph von Sonnenfels** as his main reference), and finishes his argument with praise for the *literati*, the principal transmitters of Enlightenment culture.

Although Kármán's writings were paradigmatic for the transformation of the national discourse in the 1790s, his early death prevented him from furthering his cultural projects. His conceptualization of 'nationhood,' referred to in terms of a linguistic community and not purely as a 'political nation,' in many ways prefigured the discourse of the Romantics. Kármán's most influential idea was that original writings were needed rather than translations, as they were the only means of addressing readers through 'cultural intimacy.' Through such arguments 'The refinement of the nation' had a considerable impact, dominating discussion around the question of originality in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Significantly, his arguments stand in contrast to the position of Ferenc Kazinczy, the main ideologue of the linguistic reform movement, who advocated the development of scientific translation literature mainly from German sources, and Kármán's intellectual heritage was in consequence appropriated in the creation of a Romantic discourse of 'national creativity' (see **Ferenc Kölcsey**, *National traditions*).

BT

The refinement of the nation

It is an unpardonable fault of our national authors that they pamper our nation. Ascending to the pulpit of the teacher they raise their voice to—educate!... oh! how indecorous is flattery in their mouths. This humble supplication of the writer to entreat approval for the offspring of his mind degrades the splendid calling he has undertaken to follow.

The whole of our country resounds with the fame of our literature. There is no end to the jubilation about the clearing firmament of our sciences, the breaking dawn of light, the awakening of common sense and the felicitous arrival of the maternal national language, of literature and science.—The sharp-eyed observer cannot but be vexed at such sarcasm forced on our times by these scholarly parasites, and with all this adulation the best he can hope for is to make the nation, through these praises, strive to deserve them. [...]

There *is* power, there *is talent* in our land as well, and they may be finer, more sublime and more vivid than anywhere else—and yet the observation that our land is hostile to the sciences also springs from a true, important and profound experience. [...]

Et in Arcadia ego. I too have suckled the simple and delectable joys of nature from her benevolent breasts. I would be ungrateful towards this good mother if I attributed only negative consequences to country life without any distinction. Nonetheless, I cannot but confess that *country life* to a large extent *hinders* the spreading of sciences.

Solitary, reclusive life, isolation from the world isolates one from thinking as well. That tiny piece of land where the farmer lives is his entire horizon. He knows not what happens beyond his village, and he believes that over the hills that signify the boundaries of his county the Black Sea begins. All his attention is reduced to the minuscule periphery where he was born and where he lives. All his endeavors are confined to this land. Everyday events that deserve no attention for the very reason that they occur every day satisfy all his needs for news. If we asked what they mean by “the whole world”—a favorite phrase of many of them—we would find that at best they mean nothing but the county they live in. [...]

Rural life cherishes self-love and pampers us. When a person constantly talks to himself and no one ever contradicts him, he will eventually believe that he always speaks cleverly and nothing indeed can be brought up against his words. If he sees his household regarding every word uttered by him as an oracle, he will easily make himself believe he is an oracle.

Capable of managing a few tenants and poor-spirited ploughmen, he will hold Montesquieu and Calonne¹ to be mere shadows compared to himself. [...]

Thus, to *sum up* all these petty circumstances of our situation, the education, the way of living and the temperament it breeds, the customs and the physiognomy, we can see in them so many obstacles to the sciences that can be found here and only here, and that should be taken into account by everyone who wants or wishes to avert the former. [...]

Or shall Pannonia ever become an Albion? Shall there arise amongst us a Newton, a Locke, a Shakespeare or a Milton, who... away with you, bold dreams, enticing me with your beguiling images!

Here our poor language is compelled to parcel out even these narrow boundaries of its homeland with so many partakers. Has it not just achieved the great triumph of gaining victory over a corpse,² and you, vain fancies, carry me so far away!—If the time comes when our sweet language ascends from our beauteous spaces up to the peaks of snow-capped mountains and the dales they enclose, when this language will be heard in the swarming streets and lofty palaces of our cities; when life overcomes death, and the language of our homeland will be spoken in the institutions of government—let then those who live to see these times dream such sweet dreams as I started to do, but until then—I shall grieve awake. [...]

Original works augment the sciences, embellish the nation and elevate her into the glorious ranks of great nations. In our land a great hindrance to the development of science is that we still have no original works written here. We have none!—I repeat it upon due reflection. Or can we give such a name to those little works written in the countryside or those works that have nothing original save their titles and that have indeed been scraped together from foreign waste? [...]

Every writer has his own world, his own atmosphere he lives in and writes from, and his own public he writes for. For the most part, it is those many little regards, those innumerable circumstances in his environment that make a writer pleasing—and useful. I do not mean to say that the excellence of a writer writing in England cannot be recognized in Hungary. But it is true that he is more pleasing where his readers understand each allusion of his, every one of his incidental ideas, all the savor of his words than where they are un-

¹ Charles Alexandre de Calonne (1734–1802), French politician, economic theorist, proponent of radical fiscal reforms.

² I.e., the Latin language.

able to comprehend any of this. Comprehending none of it, a reader will drowsily put down even the most pleasant writer's work.

Thus it would perchance be cruel to reproach our homeland for her coldness toward reading. That this coldness is indeed great, that books are regarded as the meanest things in a household, and a playing-card or a heifer are held to be dearer, all this is painfully clear for those of us who know our homeland. But the reader encounters a strange, unknown and untrodden world in our translated books. It is a perennial truth that a person does not like what is no business of his; he will be attracted by what concerns him nearer: he will seek truths that befit him and are useful for him. It takes a refined mind to like *common* and widely applicable truths; infant readers and infantile nations must find the *utile* or the *dulce* close to the truths, for they are unable to seek them far away.

[...] Every fruit, every seed we plant in our land from distant realms proves to be artificial, and it punishes, with a tasteless or scentless fruit, its predator, who, ripping it out from its motherland, has exiled and carried it under a strange orbit.

This is how we can make ourselves worthy of being read; this is how we can make demure foreign countries turn their eyes toward us and *notice* us. [...]

Like a second Prometheus, the true writer brings down from heaven the beauteous light of *wisdom*; he brings *glory*, *bloom* and *public welfare* to his nation, he makes the serf obedient from his own *conviction*, he renders the sovereign the sovereign of *hearts*, he turns men into real men. Ultimately, he guides the people through the bonds of *common sense* to *their own responsibilities* and through the sweet chains of the *heart* to their own *bliss*.

Translated by Dávid Oláh

BERNARD BOLZANO: CONCERNING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES OF BOHEMIA

Title: *Über das Verhältniß der beiden Völkstämme in Böhmen* (Concerning the relations between the two peoples of Bohemia)

Originally published: Bernard Bolzano, *Über das Verhältniß der beiden Völkstämme in Böhmen. Drei Vorträge im Jahre 1816 an der Hochschule zu Prag gehalten* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1849)

Language: German

The excerpts are from the original, pp. 19–26, 33–39, 44–48.

About the author

Bernard Bolzano [1781, Prague – 1848, Prague]: logician, mathematician, philosopher and priest. Bolzano's father was a merchant of Italian origin, his mother was a Prague German. He considered himself a Bohemian patriot. After graduating from a Piarist gymnasium he read philosophy, mathematics, physics, and theology at Charles-Ferdinand University, Prague. His professor, K. J. Seibt, introduced him to the writings of Leibniz, which considerably influenced Bolzano's own philosophical views. In 1804 he became a professor of religion at Prague. His overall outlook can be reasonably characterized as an enlightened moral pragmatism that influenced his reflections on religion and the Church and led him repeatedly to express the need for Church reform. He also criticized various aspects of politics and society in the Monarchy, such as the growing nationalism (both Czech and German), anti-Semitism and the way prostitution was being handled by the authorities. Owing to repeated controversies with the authorities he was called an 'atheist,' lost his job and was put on trial in 1820. He thereafter lived in seclusion, supported by family friends. His critical observations on politics and society formed the basis of his utopian project described in *Das Büchlein vom besten Staate*. In addition, he wrote several important books on mathematics, logic, and the philosophy of science, the *Wissenschaftslehre* being the most important of them. His attitude to nationalism was appreciated as early as the end of the nineteenth century, but his legacy as a consistent critic of nationalism was rightly acknowledged only in the second half of the twentieth century when the Czech philosopher Jan Patočka, among others, called him the originator of the Czech critical tradition in national history.

Main works: *Betrachtungen über einige Gegenstände der Elementargeometrie* [Reflections on certain objects of elementary geometry] (1805); *Erbauungsreden an*

die akademische Jugend I–IV [Edificatory addresses to the academic youth] (1813–84); *Athanasia oder Gründe für die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* [Athanasia, or reasons for the immortality of the soul] (1827); *Lehrbuch der Religionswissenschaft* [A textbook on the study of religion] (1834); *Wissenschaftslehre I–IV* [A theory of science] (1837); *Was ist Philosophie?* [What is philosophy?] (1849); *Drei philosophische Abhandlungen* [Three philosophical treatises] (1851); *Paradoxien des Unendlichen* [Paradoxes of the infinite] (1851); *Das Büchlein vom besten Staate* [Booklet about the best state] (1932).

Context

In the first half of the nineteenth century, liberal ideas spread throughout the Habsburg lands. The nascent bourgeois society gradually accepted the principles of civil rights and constitutionalism that had, however, been closely intertwined with the national ideals of the growing national movements. Generally, there were three distinct conceptions that emerged in Bohemia during these years. First, there was the conception proposed by **Josef Jungmann**'s generation of Czech patriots, which was based on the idea of the emancipation of the Czechs as an autonomous nation supported by 'Slav reciprocity' (the idea of active cultural collaboration and exchange among Slavs). The second conception, advocated by Bohemian Germans, was that Bohemia should be a part of the German lands. Thirdly, an idea conducive to the promotion of Austrian 'state patriotism' proposed the fusion of the Czech and German national communities into a single Bohemian political nation.

In his Sunday lectures to students of the university delivered in 1810 and 1816, Bolzano elaborated this third idea, continuing the tradition of enlightened patriotism in an age pervaded by Romantic nationalisms. In the first of these lectures, 'On the love of Fatherland,' he stressed the basic principle that the highest moral law would follow from regard for the interest of the commonweal. To love the *patria* meant to learn her virtues and imperfections and to work hard to promote her interests. Conversely, it is only love for the fatherland that gives us courage and vigor to work for the commonweal. Bolzano admitted that there were basic differences between Czechs and Germans but sought to overcome them. He returned to the latter point in three of his 1816 lectures, as the divergences were becoming more visible. Here again he called for the unity of the Bohemian nation and reconciliation between Germans and Czechs. In this approach he opposed **Josef Jungmann**'s concept (one language = one nation), and there was in fact a sort of clash between the adherents of Bolzano and Jungmann, which was partly conceptual and partly personal.

Although Bolzano was a well-known personality, his idea of the nation was hardly cultivated outside the narrow circle of his students. Even if it had been more publicized, it is hard to imagine that this concept would have gained substantial support. First, the idea was a rather elitist one, feasible only in a well-educated society with people who were able to learn two languages. Secondly, whereas it was redundant to demand Czechs to study German, since they used it anyway, it was almost impossible to expect educated Germans to learn Czech, which was perceived as a primitive and uncivilized language. Under the circumstances Bolzano scarcely had a chance of getting a positive response or support from either the Czech or the German side.

As long as the Czech national movement was understood by Czechs as the 'natural' process of the unfolding of national consciousness, Bolzano was ranked among the utopian thinkers with respect not only to his ideas on government, but also to his conception of the nation. Later, in the twentieth century, however, his idea of nation was reconsidered as an alternative 'nation-building project' based on two languages, attempting to reconcile the emerging national movements with the concept of 'Bohemism.' Nowadays, this conception is—sometimes rather uncritically—celebrated as a realistic though unrealized challenge to the ethno-linguistic conceptions of the nation at the very onset of the German and Czech national movements in the Bohemian Lands.

MK

Concerning the relations between the two peoples of Bohemia

[...]

I admit, first of all, that the difference in language spoken by the two peoples [*Volkstämme*] of this country constitutes itself a natural reason for both, if not exactly to hate each other, at least to avoid any union or alliance. For, although the fact that in our country there are two different languages, one of which only a certain part of the people understand and speak with suitable fluency, may at first seem trifling to many, it is actually highly important. In the history of mankind there is no example of a people [*Volk*] in which a similar difference existed and which therefore would not have, in varying degrees, felt a lack of collective spirit. That, of course, is understandable, for several languages in one and the same people eventually create the disadvantage that, owing to that difference in language, they obscure the picture of the

essential equality of all citizens. All the collective spirit that exists among the members of one and the same society is based on the concept of that equality. The more equality exists among them, whether genuine or only apparent, the more perfectly they manage to remove from their sight all the difference between them the easier each of them manages to see their own fate in that of their neighbor's, the more sincerely each feels the weal and woe of the other, the more ardently they love one another, and the more willing they are, one and all, to stand up for each other. Every difference that is perceptible harms the collective spirit. A difference in language, even if a rational person declared it to be utterly unimportant, always remains a difference, one that cannot be concealed. And among the ignorant this difference is of great import. A man who speaks differently from the way they do seems to them to be a strange creature from a foreign land. They gaze at him in astonishment, not knowing what to make of him. [...]

Another disadvantage that comes from the difference of languages is that, although it does not render mutual intercourse completely impossible, it nonetheless renders it very difficult and hampers it.

Who does not know the effort it takes to explain ideas to another person when one cannot use language as the medium and is limited strictly to a small number of natural signs? How poor and unhelpful such intercourse is! And that is why everyone associates only with those who understand and speak the same language as he does. The consequence of this is that, in all external unions made under the law of the land between people [*Menschen*] of different languages, no internal alliance exists. [...] We Bohemians [*Wir Böhmen*] may also allege this; but we must not think these reasons would entirely excuse us! But let us not think it impossible, in view of all the differences in language, for us to form a closely united whole and distinguish ourselves with a high degree of collective spirit. The Christians of the first century teach us best about this. People [*Menschen*] of the widest variety of languages converted to the religion of Jesus Christ, and they all lived with one another in the most sincere of unions, taking an active interest in each other's hardships and fates, regardless of the language to which any one was devoted to! [...]

Difference in languages, however, is not the only fact that hampers the emergence of a collective spirit in this country. A second, far more important fact is the difference in the character, concepts, and level of enlightenment of the two peoples [*Volkstämnen*] in our country; for it is clear that the Czech inhabitants of our country are considerably different from the German in these matters; and if they have not always been, then they are so

at least nowadays. The former and the latter each have in their character and customs certain praiseworthy qualities and certain blameworthy ones. The difference is even more striking in the concepts and level of enlightenment of the two. Thus, probably without fear of causing a dispute and with the intention of bringing about peace, I can speak the truth: the Czech is behind the German in degree of mental training. The cause of this has all too often been argued about, my friends, and in order to explain this phenomenon one has all too often been willing to assume certain differences even in the natural disposition of the two peoples that share our country. It seems to me, to be frank, that this sort of explanation is not only too bold, and cannot be demonstrated, but is also insulting and slanderous. I shall never be persuaded that defective qualities cling by nature so inseparably to whole families, not to mention whole peoples [*Völkerschaften*], to such an extent that they cannot in some way be removed. Rather I believe that one becomes what one is by education and circumstances, and that every people, when it finds itself in favorable circumstances, can achieve the same perfection as any other people. [...]

You may object that I have so far not mentioned the most important cause of discord and bitterness between the citizens of our country. You mean by that the recollection of those unfortunate events whereby it happened that in our country there is, apart from the Czech language, also the German language, and whereby it happened that, at least to a degree, one part of the people still rules over the other and benefits from this at the expense of the other. [...] Let us therefore always admit that the greatest misfortune of our people is that the parts of which it is composed, not equal at the beginning, were brought together not through voluntarily unification, but mainly by external force, and that even today one part—at the expense of the other—is all too favored, and raised above the other!

It is understandable that the recollection of wrongs and injustices done to one's forefathers is transmitted also to the grandsons, particularly understandable when the consequences still persist or when one continues even to add new injustices to the old. And that is truly happening here. For are not the ones who are born German in the country and those who join them still given preference in a hundred highly important matters? Is German not the language in which lectures in higher learning are given in the country, and which was raised to the language of business in all public affairs? Mustn't this, no matter how little it can in itself be reproached, also be very disagreeable to the other part of the population? Does not that part of the population feel with bitterness the slight it experiences here? But what is

more: are not the great and distinguished in the country, are not the rich and the landowners among the people, all either Germans by birth and probably complete foreigners or the kind of persons who, because they long ago discarded the Czech language and customs, are counted among the Germans? Does not the Czech-speaking part of the people [*böhmisch-sprechender Theil des Volks*] live in a thoroughly deplorable state of poverty and oppression? And what is most outrageous: did not the Germans, or at least those who belong to the Germans, become the leading persons everywhere; persons who, not proficient in the language of the Czech-speaking part of the people, are in no position to appreciate its complaints and grievances, its requests and entreaties, the reasons it presents for their support; persons who have no sympathy for the Czech-speaking part of the people either, who do not consider it their equal, and therefore do not treat it paternally, but instead rule over it and ruin it, following the example of the Egyptian taskmasters? (Exodus 1:8–13) [...]

No matter how great and numerous the differences between the Czechs and the Germans, there are nevertheless thousands of other things which the former and the latter think about in the same way. If they used properly only those principles on which both sides agreed, much, very much, could be undertaken jointly. But we are the ones who are fooling ourselves; we, each of the two sides, do not think the other capable of so much agreement as there actually is, because we look at each other with a hateful eye, and do not wish to forget the unfair advantages that one side has gradually obtained over the other. What, however, does Reason say to this sort of conduct? It surely reprimands both sides. The side, which has been taken advantage of, it reproaches for the inequity of desiring that citizens living today be punished for the injustice done not by them but by their ancestors. The one that continues to do injustice and gives occasion to righteous indignation is sternly ordered by Reason finally to set limits to its oppression and, properly using the advantages and wealth which it has obtained, to reconcile itself with its offended fellow citizens by means of kindness and moderation! If, however, every one does not obey this order, if, in the favored people [*Volkstamme*], there are many who, by their conduct, arouse righteous abhorrence, are we then allowed to hate the whole people [*Stamm*]? [...] How unjust, therefore, the hatred in the heart of a Czech if it were indiscriminately applied to all Germans! [...]

But when we thus see, one hopes, that there is no completely justifiable reason at all for hatred between the two peoples in our country, let us consider now how harmful and destructive this sort of hatred is.

1. The first and most certain thing is that with this sort of hatred we make our own lives bitter, and instead of reconciling ourselves with the ones who are hated, we give them much more occasion for new offences from their side. [...]

2. That, however, reminds me of another reason which shows us how hatred between fellow citizens is harmful. Countless enterprises that contribute to the commonweal, which can be carried out only with love and collective spirit, must in our country, where these virtues are lacking, always remain undone. [...]

3. This helplessness thus gives rise to another evil. Those who have the government of the country in their hands are tempted to abuse their power, and, instead of seeing to the well-being of the people, see to their own enrichment. [...]

4. These, my friends, are the unfortunate consequences that a partisan spirit brings forth in each people. In addition, however, that partisanship causes us to suffer another, quite special, supremely important loss. I have intentionally left this brief remark till last—namely, the fact that we are a people [*Volk*] composed of such heterogeneous components that this very fact, if we could only suppress the partisan spirit, would raise us up to become one of the happiest people in Europe. For it is a remarkable law of nature that for the emergence of a whole, if it is to appear complete in our eyes, a certain heterogeneity of its otherwise well-bound parts is needed. Just as the ground on which we stand only becomes fertile when composed of various soils, so, too, the people that gains its livelihood from this ground only becomes a happy and complete people when it is composed of unequal components. [...]

According to the analysis that we carried out in our meeting before last there is no really important obstacle to a collective spirit in our country apart from its difference in language. The person who could completely remove this obstacle, who could get all the inhabitants of our whole country to speak only one language, would be the greatest benefactor of our people. [...] Although experience clearly teaches us ultimately that the number of languages on earth decreases with every century, the happy moment when only one language prevails in our fatherland is not at all near. All the more zealously, then, must we use everything we can in order to make this difference in languages, so long as it exists among us, as harmless as possible. First of all, we must enlighten the still utterly uneducated part of our people, the Czechs as well as the Germans, about the difference in languages. We must explain to the ignorant the origin of difference in languages on earth. We must show

them that it is utterly arbitrary whether we call things one way or the other; that, owing to a lack of concert among the different peoples of the earth, one had also to invent various names of concepts; that of the many differences that exist among human beings linguistic difference is the least important; that it is the utmost foolishness to consider a person something better or worse than ourselves only because he expresses himself in another language; that it is only a matter of habit whether we consider certain sounds pleasant and others unpleasant; and that consequently there is nothing more natural than everyone considering the sounds of his own mother tongue to be the most pleasing. So much for the utterly uneducated part of our people. We should, moreover, have to ask the enlightened person either to put aside the controversial issue about which of the two languages in and of itself has preference over the other, or to discuss it with the greatest possible composure and moderation. It is a pointless argument, for no matter how it is resolved it yields nothing useful to life. [...]

You should know, however, that you can contribute much to removing, or at least reducing, this difference, and contribute far more than the enemies of our happiness would like. Do you know how? Those among you whom the Lord God once called upon to care for the spiritual well-being of our people will also be entrusted with the supreme supervision of the instruction of children in all parts of the country. And, consequently, it will be possible for you almost everywhere in these relations, providing you do not shun a bit of work and effort for your great purpose, easily to familiarize with the other language the tender youth who stream into your schools, but know only one of the languages of the country. [...] A boy who at first knew not even a word of his neighbor's language will, in less than a year, be able to express his own thoughts comprehensibly and dexterously in it. What a great, invaluable benefit, especially for the Czech inhabitants of our country. If he knows the other language he can then go through the whole country and find people [*Menschen*] everywhere whom he can communicate with; then all the sources of education [*Bildung*] which his German neighbours draw from will also flow to him just as richly as for them. If he knows the German language, then he can acquire the necessary knowledge of all the laws that relate to him; then he can claim his right before every court; then he will be able to talk to the authorities whose sovereignty is acknowledged by all in the country, from the lowest to the highest. But when the German inhabitant of the country learns the language of his Czech fellow citizens, it is a great benefit for him as well as the whole. He can then, without an interpreter, talk with every Czech; he is no longer hated by the Czech, but loved; and he himself

acquires love for a people of whose truthful sound judgement, good nature, and many other hitherto still unappreciated virtues he receives evidence daily ever since he has learned their language.

Need I state what follows so clearly from this, my friends—namely, that it is one of the most sacred duties of those Germans whom fate has, in some respect or other, raised to be the superiors of the Czechs to learn the language of their subordinates? For, without understanding this, it is indeed scarcely possible for us to discharge the duties of our office, and even less, of course, to win the love and trust of our subordinates! [...]

The more perfectly we manage to do that, then the more Germans we enable to learn the Czech language and the more Czechs to learn the German language, and the easier it will be, partly by itself, to remove the second barrier that stands in the way of that collective spirit in our fatherland—namely, the dissimilarity in the character, concepts, and convictions which exists between the Czech and German inhabitants of the country. [...]

Translated by Derek Paton

NEOFIT RILSKI: BULGARIAN GRAMMAR

Title: *Българска граматика* (Bulgarian grammar)

Originally published: Крагуевац (Kragujevac), Княжеско-Сербска Типо-
графия, 1835

Language: Bulgarian

The excerpts used are from *Българска граматика* (Sofia: Наука и изкуство, 1984), Preface, pp. 1–5.

About the author

Neofit Rilski (secular name: Nikola pop Petrov) [1793, Bansko – 1881, Rila Monastery]: linguist, pedagogue, lexicographer and translator. He was born in Bansko in south-western Bulgaria, to a teacher family. Initially, he taught in his father's school. Then in 1806 he became a student of the painter Dimitar Molerov (Zograph) and worked with him on the 'Last Judgment' fresco at Rila Monastery (the largest and most influential Bulgarian monastery), where he was ordained as a monk in 1811 and received the church name Neofit. During the 1830s he embarked upon intensive pedagogical activity in the course of his travels—he taught in Koprivshitz, Rila Monastery, and Halki. In 1835 he became head teacher at the new school in Gabrovo, founded by one of the leading figures of the Bulgarian Enlightenment, Vasil Aprilov (1789–1847), and also contributed to the creation of its educational model, applying his modern pedagogical visions (derived from the Bell-Lancaster method). This school served as a model for many other educational institutions. Rilski was also the first translator of the Bible into modern Bulgarian, his translation being published in the famous Smyrna edition of 1840, sponsored by the British and Foreign Bible Society. In the 1860s he became the abbot of Rila Monastery. By the 1870s and 1880s he was already considered a paradigmatic figure of the new Bulgarian culture.

Main works: *Българска граматика* [Bulgarian grammar] (1835); *Таблицы взаимноучителни* [Tables for mutual education] (1835); *Христоматия славянскаго языка* [Textbook of the Slavic language] (1852); *Словар на българския език* [Dictionary of the Bulgarian language] (1875).

Context

As one of the main figures of the nineteenth-century Bulgarian cultural revival, Neofit Rilski had great influence on the national identity-building process, foremost through his activity as one of the initiators of educational reform in the 1830s. By adopting modern pedagogical concepts and the vernacular as the language of instruction (until then, Greek and Church Slavonic were used), the schools became modern civic institutions, independent of the church and consequently open to contemporary scientific and educational methods. They thus became the institutional backbone of a growing cultural nationalism. Moreover, a considerable number of Rilski's students became teachers themselves—thus catalyzing the emergence of a secular intelligentsia educated inside Bulgaria.

The ideological input of Neofit Rilski's linguistic activity, closely related to his pedagogical work, was also of great importance. Rilski considered language as a primary marker of nationhood. This view is characteristic of the mainstream of the nationalistic discourse of the Bulgarian 'Revival' period. The main elements of this discourse were borrowed from the Greeks (albeit it was against their cultural dominance that it was eventually directed): the vision of a national language, church reform (the 'anti-Phanariot' or 'anti-Patriarchate' discourses), and the entire concept of 'cultural revival.' In this regard the political project of **Ivan Seliminski**, for instance, could also be seen as a direct continuation of this cultural reformism. For that reason, the study of folk customs, history and epic poetry, by itself unrelated to the nationalist agenda, turned into a tool that helped to define the nation.

It is important to state here that even though Rilski was well read in Greek literature, he was also very much aware of the accomplishments of Slavic scholarship. His cultural nationalism was centered on his conviction that, among all Slavic languages, the Bulgarian language was the closest to Old Slavonic. In fact the discovery of 'Old Bulgarian' had come about decades earlier. The central problem of Slavic studies became the role of the Cyrillic alphabet and 'Old Bulgarian'; consequently, the key issue of Bulgarian historiography, from Paisij Hilendarski, the author of the famous 'Slavo-Bulgarian History' (1762) (see **Boyan Penev**, *History of new Bulgarian literature*), to Marin Drinov, the author of 'On the origins of the Bulgarian people and the beginning of Bulgarian history' (1869), was the Slavic origin of the Bulgarians. In other words, by the time of Rilski's 'Grammar,' Slavic studies were already well under way to becoming institutionalized.

'The Slavic Revival' of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, exemplified in the works of the Czech **Dobrovský**, the Slovenian Kopitar, or the Serbian **Karadžić**, is crucial for understanding the trends of the Bulgarian Enlightenment. It would be hard to identify any non-mediated relation to the founding figures of European Enlightenment historiography, cultural philosophy and linguistics. Consequently, the definition of the Bulgarian national self only becomes comprehensible with reference to this larger cultural context, from which it selectively borrowed but to which it also reacted (e.g. the original exclusion of Bulgarian from the language lists of the Slavists and the subsequent debates on its classificatory 'nature'). According to Rilski, Old Slavonic is synonymous with Old Bulgarian (while Vasil Aprilov insisted on the difference between Church Slavonic and Old Bulgarian). The claim that the Bulgarian language was the closest to Old Slavonic was used in support of an argument that medieval Bulgarian culture was at the root of the whole Slavic culture. Thus, the idea of Slavic brotherhood could be identified as an incarnation of Bulgarian cultural nationalism.

Rilski is known mostly as one of the first proponents of the standardization of the Bulgarian language, that is, of the subordination of local dialects to the neutral, abstract and transcendental norm of the literary language. The second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a crucial debate on the normative ground of this new Bulgarian literary language. As a leader of the so-called Slavo-Bulgarian school, Neofit Rilski was trying to find a compromise between the two radical wings in the debate—on the one hand, the New-Bulgarian school, which sought to impose the vernacular in its contemporary form as a literary norm (one of its leaders being Ivan Bogorov, who published his own ideas in the form of a 'First Bulgarian Grammar' in 1844), and, on the other hand, the conservative school, which favored Church Slavonic (Hristaki Pavlovich, Konstantin Fotinov). The balance eventually tilted, under the influence of Vasil Aprilov, towards the New-Bulgarian school. According to Rilski's compromise solution, Church Slavonic should not be kept as the foundation of the contemporary literary language, but should nonetheless be used as a regulatory principle of the literary norm: it should serve as a criterion for the selection of a normative form among the existing local dialectal versions. In this suggestion, as generally in Rilski's 'Preface,' **Adamantios Korais**' solution for the standardization of modern Greek and his arguments were reproduced literally.

In his 'Philological Preface' Rilski provides ideological arguments for the need to 'unify' the Bulgarian language. This claim was intertwined with the

so-called ‘regional debate.’ The process of normative linguistic unification in the non-centralized Bulgarian lands was a complex one involving different regional groups which claimed that their local dialect was the purest version of the Bulgarian language, the general opposition being between Western and Eastern dialects. According to Rilski, the fundamental issue was: “In which part of Bulgaria is the Bulgarian tongue spoken and pronounced in a most true and unalloyed manner?” In the end, the central Bulgarian dialect was imposed as the basis of the literary norm, not only as a compromise between Eastern and Western dialects but also because of the belief that in the Veliko Tarnovo region, around the medieval capital of Bulgaria, the literary language was preserved in its purest form. Nevertheless, a realistic explanation of the decision has to take into account the fact that the most significant part of the new Bulgarian intelligentsia came from the towns of the Balkan valley in Central Bulgaria. According to some interpretations, this decision alienated a considerable part of the Bulgarian population and in particular stimulated regionalist tendencies in Macedonia (see **Partenij Zografski**, *Thoughts about the Bulgarian language*).

On the whole, Rilski’s answer sought to transcend the polarized positions in the debate. It is from this perspective that he put forward his idea about Church Slavonic as a regulatory principle. On the other hand, the relation between modern Bulgarian and Church Slavonic is two-sided; for the former would be still closer and more loyal to the Slavonic tongue than “all the other languages that have sprung from it (...), this perfect language can be found spread all over Bulgaria without any deformity.” In that perspective Rilski’s Slavic cultural solidarity is secondary to his cultural nationalism.

BM

A philological preface regarding the Slavo-Bulgarian grammar

Dignity is a great Virtue for all peoples, and especially for any Man, since with Dignity many good things are acquired. And since that Dignity has started to flower in the present century and in our Most Beloved Country like some thuriferous lily betwixt thorns and briers showing how it will hence produce a perfumed blossom among all our Countrymen who have started rubbing the lingering sleep of ignorance and aberration from their eyes and acquiring the means for genuine Enlightenment, whilst they hurry

to make the hoard of the Bulgarian Tongue, so they might taste and enjoy sweet instead of muddied waters from their own, not foreign Springs, as they hitherto did. Therefore, patriotic Notables waste no time in acquiring the most proper and needed means by which this praiseworthy Dignity may grow within Bulgarian Souls that hitherto never knew its name. They, we say, exert themselves in translating books into our maternal Tongue, in which Education can be spread all over our Country, yet all these books and translations must be based on sound Principles. Every man knows that written Language is grounded in the rules of Grammar. And as no Tongue can acquire its rectification and pulchritude without adhering to grammatical rules, the most indispensable thing would be first and foremost a Grammar of our natural Mother Tongue, so that everybody will write according to common rather than local rules, local rules causing nothing more than a futile reproach. Everyone can see the need for a common Grammar for all Bulgaria, for all to follow in their Writings, instead of each Man following his local Pronunciation without any ground and proof, praising and defending his own Speech whilst rebuking and destroying the others. This task is not the task of one Man, but of many, because whether unwittingly engrossed and lured by his natural Selfishness, or rash in his homage to his dear beloved Province, or ignorant of the differences in pronunciation in every region (dare I say in every town and village), one could easily swerve from the true and loyal Bulgarian Tongue, if one did not always hold on to its source. And as nobody can refute that the Bulgarian Language is descended from such an opulent source as the Slavonic Tongue, no one can deny that from there it must accept its correction and rectify its flaws. Henceforth whoever wants to vaunt and vindicate his vernacular Tongue, he must always have as his true witness the Slavonic Language, and hold on to it, if he is not to deserve the blame of his peers.

There exists a curious dispute and controversy between some Philologists who have started accumulating and composing such a Grammar—namely, in which part of Bulgaria the Bulgarian tongue is spoken and pronounced in a most true and unalloyed manner. And each one can freely and cheerfully declare his opinions on the Subject, and then from the many different opinions we can accomplish the designated task and commence the Education of our Fatherland. [...] Methinks that, be I not wrong, if the Bulgarian Tongue purges itself of foreign words (namely, the Greek and Turkish ones) that have crept into it through the commingling with those two Nations, and if the different articles and verbs are brought into agreement, it would be closer and more loyal to the Slavonic Tongue than all the other Languages that have

sprung from it. And that this perfect Language can be found spread all over Bulgaria without any deformity. And nobody can boast that in one Province or another the Bulgarian Tongue is spoken in the most faithful and unalloyed manner, as will be shown by the following Exposition.

Translated by Zornitsa Dimova

PARTENIJ ZOGRAFSKI: THOUGHTS ABOUT THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE

Title: *Мисли за българскійот языкъ* (Thoughts about the Bulgarian language)

Originally published: *Български книжици, повременно списание на Българската Книжнина*, часть пръва, книжка 1, Цариградъ – Галата (Istanbul), 1858

Language: Non-standard Slavic language predominantly based on the author's own Macedonian vernacular, with substantial Bulgarian and Old Slavonic linguistic inputs (especially on the morphological and lexical level), and written with the Church Slavonic alphabet in its Russian Cyrillic norm

The excerpts used are from *Български възрожденски книжовници от Македония* (Sofia: БАН, 1983), pp. 195–202.

About the author

Partenij Zografski (his profane name was **Pavle Trizlovski**) [1818, Galičnik (close to the present Macedonian-Albanian border) – 1876, Istanbul]: writer and clergyman. Born into the family of a rich pastoralist, young Pavle had the opportunity to attend various primary and secondary schools. He started his education in the monastery of St. John Bigorski near his home village, and by the age of twenty he had attended schools in Ohrid and Prizren (Kosovo/Kosova), Greek language schools in Thessalonica and Istanbul and the seminary in Athens. He then entered the Zograf monastery on Mount Athos as a monk, from where he was sent to continue his education in various orthodox seminaries and academies: Odessa, Kishinev, Kiev, and Moscow, completing these studies in 1850. At the age of 32 he was already a spiritual advisor at the imperial court in St. Petersburg. After a short stay in Paris (1850), he returned to serve in the Russian church in Istanbul. In the 1850s he taught in various places, but mostly in the Zograf Monastery and Istanbul, and became an active supporter of the Bulgarian cause in the struggle against Greek cultural domination in the religious and educational spheres. He wrote articles on literary subjects, translated religious texts, and wrote, published and distributed grammars, textbooks and historical accounts with a general purpose of promoting Slav literacy. In 1859, at the age of 41, he was appointed bishop of Kukush (today Kilikis, Greece); however, due to serious clashes with his superiors in the Patriarchate, as well as with some local notables, he was forced to resign his post in the mid-1860s. In 1867 the Patriarchate sent him to be metropolitan of Niš and Pirot (today Southeast Serbia). Due to conflicts with the leading figures of the newly formed Bulgarian Exarchate (1870), Partenij remained at his post until 1874, when

he was recalled to Istanbul to take charge of the local Bulgarian school. Somewhat isolated and marginalized, he died at the age of 58.

Main works: *Кратка свещена история на вехто и новозаветната църков.* Преведена от архимандрита Партения Зографский [Short sacred history of the Old and New Testament Church] (translation, 1857); *Началное учение за децата* [Introductory education for children] (1858); *Кратка славенска граматика* [Short Slavonic grammar] (1859).

Context

Partenij Zografski belongs, chronologically speaking, at the very heart of what is known as the “revival period” in Southeast Europe. In simple terms, this was the time when the struggle began for redistribution of control over assets connected with religious and educational institutions within the Ottoman Empire. It was mostly, at least in the beginning, an urban phenomenon, since the first frictions between the Slav and Greek elements, put under the same socio-economic umbrella of the *Rum millet*, developed in the towns. Relations with members of the same social stratum, but of different *millet* (for instance Jewish traders), were often fiercely competitive, but the real battle for structural dislocation on the hierarchy scale could have occurred only within the framework of the Orthodox community. Traditionally, municipality matters were controlled by the merchant and artisan class, members of which were for the most part either of Greek origin, or at least aspired to be “Greek.” Especially in Macedonia, to be a *Greek* was synonymous with being a trader and inhabiting the relative safety of a town—so very different from the unsafe, primitive, difficult living conditions of the Slav peasant, the *vulgaros*. In other words, ethnonyms were also social stratification markers. Although migration towards the towns was slowly changing their demographic character, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the superiority of Greek culture within the *Rum millet* was hardly challenged. To become a member of the ‘club’ of Orthodox Christian traders or handicraft guilds—the Jewish ones were a world apart—meant simply to be(come) a Greek. And the only way to maintain this status was to secure son(s) and heirs to the business a decent Greek education. Wealthy men of Slavic origin, very often themselves unable to speak the Greek language, were proud of giving their children Greek names and paying for their education in schools as far as Thessaloniki or even Athens. Only then could they hope for access into the circle of wealthy men who could influence the fate of the whole community through

their control of municipality affairs. Apart from collecting taxes and handing them over to the state organs, the municipality notables had charge of regulating all kinds of incomes and contributions within the framework of the community and their distribution for the general benefit, from the building of churches to establishing schools, distributing salaries to the teachers, and organizing support funds or stipends for talented children to attend special schools elsewhere.

Within this circle of wealthy and established townsmen, behind the apparent similarity of their common socio-cultural pattern of manners and appearances, the awareness of belonging to a certain more or less 'noble' ethnic lot was always present. Language was the most obvious, and sometimes the only designator of such differences. While the *lingua franca* was generally Turkish, Greek was the language of commerce, culture, literacy and liturgy. The other languages spoken within the Orthodox community (for instance the Slavic languages, or the Vlach language) remained outside the domain of education, religion and business, relegated to the level of the home, and not supposed to be heard either in the schools or in the church. Such an institutional linguistic barrier promoted acculturation as the single precondition for social advancement. And it was exactly this precondition that was challenged during what is termed the process of Slav emancipation, or revival. Seemingly symbolic, the struggle to institutionalize one language at the expense of another in practice entailed the displacement of an entire elite from a position of supervision and control over areas of influence and power, such as schools, churches and municipalities, and its replacement with another.

Of all the Ottoman provinces where Greeks and Slavs lived side by side, it was in Macedonia that Hellenism had the strongest position, whether in demographic, institutional or cultural terms. Nevertheless, mobility, contacts, links of solidarity and common visions of an ethnic, or proto-national community created a common Bulgarian *ethnie*. If the Greek language was to be replaced by the Slav language, the question was what this language should look like. The name itself was not an issue—the Bulgarian cause had become almost synonymous with that of the Slavs, and the term “Bulgarian language” with the Slav, or simply “our” language or “the mother tongue.” But in this vast imagined community of the Bulgarian *ethnie*, Macedonia and north-eastern Bulgaria represented two opposite poles, and their respective vernacular forms were distinct enough to generate two separate visions as to the projected nucleus of a common literary language. Geographically close to the major centers of Slav culture and literacy in Russia, and already estab-

lished in merchant and student colonies all over the Russian Empire (from Odessa to St. Petersburg), the north-eastern Bulgarian dialect had already imposed itself as the potential nucleus of a standardized language, and already the appropriate literature (high culture products) had appeared, marking this vernacular form as the strongest candidate for new linguistic-political eminence. Of course, the process of standardization in all its nuances, details and refinement (especially in orthography and the alphabet) was not complete, but by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century the Bulgarian cultural elites (outside Macedonia) had no doubt about what would be the hard core of the Bulgarian language.

Partenij Zografski was probably the first one to question this assumption in an open and competent way. He decided that public debate would be the best way to make known and promote the cause of the Macedonian dialect as the one better suited as a common Bulgarian language, and sought to present his case on a number of occasions. The textbooks he undertook to write and distribute in Macedonia for educational purposes were written (mostly) in the Macedonian vernacular form, and so is the present article in which he explains his ideas about the 'Bulgarian language.' After the introductory remarks, his article proceeds to list thirteen points of difference between the two dialects. This philological treatise ends with an appendix, where three folk songs in the (proposed) Macedonian dialect follow in order to illustrate his argument. In summary, he claims that he wishes for a compromise, warning (with the note of a threat) that the arbitrary imposition of the language of the 'upper Bulgarians' upon Macedonia would be a vain endeavor with no chance for acceptance if the Macedonian dialect were not taken into consideration. Exactly these attitudes secured for Partenij Zografski a honorary position in the Republic of Macedonia's historical linguistics, as a tentative, ambiguous, but nevertheless concrete and substantial case of Macedonian linguistic separatism, understood as implicit awareness of the Macedonians' cultural distinctiveness. In other words, his efforts were praised as the first scientific attempt to delineate the peculiarities of a Macedonian language within the south Slavic linguistic family.

Contemporary reactions to his 'Thoughts about the Bulgarian language' were very negative. They ranged from denigrating the Macedonian vernacular as being far removed from the Old Slavonic and burdened with borrowings from other Balkan languages, to dismissing it as a Bulgaro-Serbian borderland dialect. At any rate, this 'mixture of influences' was considered to be a totally unsuitable candidate for the 'common language project.' Partenij was reproached for intending to saddle all Bulgarians with his dia-

lect instead of siding with the majority, while other critics went as far as open mockery. However, this somewhat puritan and exclusivist Bulgarian attitude would be forced to acknowledge on many subsequent occasions the unpalatable phenomenon of the persistent loyalty to the Macedonian vernacular. As for Partenij Zografski's place in the institutionalized memory of Macedonians and Bulgarians, it is one of full respect and incorporation into both national pantheons, however contradictory this may seem in terms of interpretations.

The text itself became an important reference point in modern Macedonian historio-linguistic accounts, placing Partenij Zografski within the context of the emergence of a modern Macedonian identity. A very influential interpretation of this sort can be found in Blazhe Koneski, *Кон македонската преродба. Македонските учебници од XIX век* (1959), also published in English as *Towards the Macedonian Renaissance* (1961).

NI

Thoughts about the Bulgarian language

We have said this before, and we say it now again, that in order to construct one common literary language, the first necessity is the gathering up of all local dialects and idioms of our language, upon which the common language is to be built. Until this is done nobody can or has the right to judge and decide about the common literary language on the basis of only one dialect, whatever it might be; every judgment or decision of this kind, apart from being insufficient, is also vain and fruitless.

Our language, as known, is divided into two main dialects, one of which is spoken in Bulgaria and Thrace, and the other in Macedonia. The first one is already quite known, because everything that has been written so far in our language was written in this one, whereas nothing has been written in the other: the reason is that the revival of our literacy has gone from the top to the bottom. This is also the reason why not only foreign Slavists, but also our native scholars who are not speakers of the Macedonian dialect, have no specific or substantial idea about it. In order, as much as we can, to introduce to the world the Macedonian dialect with all its general and local idioms, we intend to write a grammar of that dialect in the form of a parallel comparison with the other one; but since this project could take some time, we will now present only its main characteristics compared to the other dialect.

Not only should not and cannot the Macedonian dialect be excluded from the common literary language, it would also have been even better if it were accepted as its main basis; the reason being that it is more melodious, more fluent and better structured, and in many ways fuller and richer.

Translated by Nikola Iordanovski

NAUM VEQILHARXHI: A PREFACE TO YOUNG ALBANIAN BOYS

Title: *E parathënme mbi djelmt e rij shqiptarë* (A preface to young Albanian boys), in: *Fare i ri Ëvetar shqip për djelmt nismëtarë...* (A very new Albanian primer, for boys who are beginners ...).

Originally published: Bucharest, 1845

Language: Albanian

The excerpts used are from the collection of documents in Myslim Islami, ed., *Naum Veqilharxhi. Ideologu i parë i Rilindjes Shqiptare* (Tirana: Sh. B. 8 Nëntori, 1977), pp. 133–137.

About the author

Naum Panajot Bredhi (Veqilharxhi) [1797, Vithkuq, (*Gr.* Vithikouki), near Korça (*Gr.* Korytsa) – 1846, probably Brăila]: writer and political activist. He was one of the most eminent Albanian thinkers during the first half of the nineteenth century. His real name was Bredhi, but the whole family inherited the name Veqilharxhi (*Tur.* Vekilharç = ‘steward’) since his father was a supplier to the court of Ali Pasha of Tepelen in Jannina. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Bredhi family, like many among the literate Orthodox of the south, emigrated from Vithkuq to Wallachia. As a young boy Naum probably joined the *Philiki Etairia* (Friendly Society), the secret revolutionary organization that contributed to the preparation of the Greek War of Independence, and with his father and brother took part in the revolt of 1821 under Tudor Vladimirescu and **Alexandros Ypsilantis**. After the defeat of the army of Ypsilantis in Wallachia, he lived in the Bessarabian town of Kishinev (*Rom.* Chişinău), and later on moved to Brăila and became a lawyer. In 1824 he started working on an Albanian alphabet and the final result was the publication of *Ëvetar*. He is considered as one of the precursors of the Albanian ‘revival’ movement.

Main works: *Fort i shkurtër e i përdorshëm Ëvetar...* [A very short and useful primer...] (1844); *Fare i ri Ëvetar shqip për djemt nismëtarë...* [A very new Albanian primer...] (1845); *Letër enciklike për të gjithë të pasurit e të mësuarit ortodoksë shqiptarë* [A letter for all wealthy and educated Albanian Orthodox] (1846).

Context

With the Hatt-i Şerif of 3 November 1839, Sultan Abdülmecid inaugurated the so-called Tanzimat era (see *The Gülhane Edict*). The stipulations of this edict were reaffirmed and enhanced by the Islahat Ferman of 1856. The main aim was to transform the Empire into a modern European state. Within this context, one of the most important novelties was that non-Muslims were granted the right to develop separate secular educational institutions (especially primary schools) teaching in their own national languages.

In the meantime, the political situation in the Balkans had changed radically following the emergence of a new independent Greek state and an autonomous Serbia. In the lands covering today's Albania, northern Greece and Southeast Macedonia two semi-autonomous political entities (*pashalik*) were created: in the south by Ali Pasha of Tepelen and in the north by the Bushatlli family, respectively, with Jannina and Shkodra (*It.* Scutari, *Srb.* Skadar) as their political and economical centers. The existence of these two semi-independent political units (the first of its kind since the fifteenth century) contributed to the augmentation of separatist feelings among Albanians. This was one of the reasons why Albanian Muslims in the south and the Catholic tribes of Mirdites in the north strongly resisted the replacement of the traditional system of *sipahis* by a new system based on conscription, stipulating a five-year period of active service (*nizâmiye*) and seven-year period of reserve service (*redif*) in the army. The new system of taxation and administration, at the beginning, encountered many difficulties, and corruption proliferated, as testified also by foreign travelers, for instance, G. M. McKenzie and A. P. Irby. As a result, several uprisings took place during the 1830s and 1840s.

Nevertheless, certain improvements were introduced in the education system. However, due to the classification of Albanians as Muslims, Orthodox or Latins (i.e., Catholics), following their division into three religions, the language of teaching in the schools was either Turkish, Greek or, later on, Italian. Veqilharxhi sought to change this situation. He envisioned an Albanian nation, with a common language, history, territory, customs and tradition. The main obstacle for Albanian cultural development was the lack of an 'Albanian' alphabet, since the Albanian language was written either in Greek or in Arabic characters. As Veqilharxhi mentioned in the preface to his first book, he started preparing an Albanian alphabet in 1824. First published in 1844, and written in the Tosk dialect, the *Ëvetar*, a small book of only eight pages, was warmly accepted in Korça, Përmet and Berat. A year later a new

enlarged edition was published, this time with a long preface, in which Veqilharxhi explained his endeavor to make possible the writing of the Albanian spoken language. He considered this the primary condition for cultural and political development. Furthermore, Veqilharxhi defined his own work as the first step in bringing into existence an entire educational system based upon the Albanian language.

Veqilharxhi's proposed alphabet was welcomed, especially among the Orthodox population (today residing in south-eastern Albania) despite the fact that the Orthodox clergy opposed any effort aimed at the introduction of the vernacular into religious service and education. Already in the late 1870s Jani Vreto (*Gr. Ioannis Vrettos*), one of the first Albanian philosophers and a leading member of the *Shoqëria e Stambollit* (Istanbul Society), acknowledged Veqilharxhi's efforts. On the whole, although his alphabet project remained unaccomplished, Veqilharxhi's ideas strongly affected the first Albanian national activists.

RH

A preface to young Albanian boys

The best invention of Man is the process of learning itself. The value of his own discovery overwhelmed him from the very beginning. As the number of enlightened and educated men grew, humanity abandoned its former barbarian state and opened its mind to learning, stepping firmly on the path to civilization.

No one can doubt the good that learning does for a man. We know that men of all races increasingly strive to build and develop their language and use it as a tool of learning.

So why should it be that we, Albanians, are standing apart—so dissimilar to the men of other races, so deprived of writing and reading in our language? How could the Albanian hand suffer being a foreign laughingstock for so long? The crucial point is that Albanians do not know their own heritage; not only are they unable to write in their own language, they cannot even pray to the Lord in the language each of them tasted with his mother's milk, like other nations do.

What I am saying, my dear boys, is that whereas we are perfectly capable of learning foreign languages, we cannot even write in our own. We can learn properly and work well enough. But only some of us are lucky enough to profit from this, while many others live in a darkness that falls heavily upon them. Everybody knows how easy it is to learn his own language. For boys

of any age the hardest thing is learning the letters; but then, knowing the language from their mothers, they can take any kind of book and have no problem reading and understanding it. Thence grows their knowledge of their mother tongue, and when that is in place they can learn foreign languages fast and well in order to help their families. It is no secret that people around the world prefer to study their own language and find it most useful, and learn foreign languages by necessity only, as foreigners should strive to learn ours. There is no need for me to delve deeper into this issue as it is plain to everybody; you can judge for yourself. Nevertheless I have to remark on the futile efforts of all those who tried or are trying to learn foreign languages. You need about three years to get the knack of speaking and writing one, and twice as long to master the language, and finally you finish school knowing nothing at all. This is not a lie, but an obvious fact. I am not talking about the boys who were sent abroad by their families, of course at great expense. I am not saying they have not learned anything. But what persons have been able to do such a thing? Only boys from very rich families. The others, the poor ones, followed the above pattern.

Such considerations, my dear boys, have prompted me to take up this task without fear of the weariness I knew it would bring, not with an appetite for fame but with a feeling of duty towards my country and my mother tongue.

Our Albanian language, as you may know, has borrowed a lot of foreign words and expressions—because such were the times, and mostly because it was not written and studied. Once I realized this, I thought it might be useful to start with the alphabet of our language, and after that I began to work on creating all the books necessary for beginners by translating texts from other languages. First of all, I decided that all foreign words should be replaced with new ones moulded to suit our language. They might sound a little strange at present, yet I hope that time will give them a natural ring. So wherever it was possible I replaced foreign words with new ones. For some of them I couldn't find a substitute, so I left them as they are, in the hope that you, dear boys, will find a way. I have spent more than twenty years in preparing the tools so that from now on you can weave the cloth.

Do not think, my dear boys, that all the letters other peoples use have somehow fallen from the sky. Of course not: some clever men created them. And if you want to know, in the ancient times the letters were so few and awkward that it was really hard to use them; and yet, in time, people changed them step by step and made them as perfect as they are today.

The book I published last year presenting a new alphabet for our language was very warmly received all over the country; Albanians began to use with

great joy the new alphabet in the writing and learning of their own language. This success both dispelled my justified fears and made me think seriously, not only of publishing this new book, but of publishing everything I have prepared in all these years, and also what I will write and prepare, with God's help, in the future, working for our shared country and language.

Let us thank our powerful God that my efforts went in a good way. I have no fear, because you or your parents will await this new book with joy. Never mind its size, time will show how great and heavy it is.

Try to learn more and enlarge your knowledge, because it is already well-known that Albanians are by nature clever and intelligent, faithful and honourable men, capable of not just catching up with but surpassing others.

Therefore I hope that we will not only curb foreign sarcasm about the lack of an alphabet and writing in our language, but we will shortly join the civilized world, prove that our hand is idle no longer and show ourselves as men of great honor; because only the learning of their own language make men honourable.

Setting your country's language in writing is the most beautiful thing in the world. Just think that until nowadays, when we did not have writing in our language, in every 500 houses you could find a mere fifty men who knew how to write, and this was mostly in a foreign language. I hope that in only a few years in 500 houses we will find a hundred people who have mastered writing in our own language.

Translated by Rigels Halili

CHAPTER IV.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION: FORMATTING THE ENLIGHTENED POLITY

JOSEPH RICHTER: JOSEPH II'S PRAYER-BOOK

Title: *Gebetbuch Kaiser Josephs II* (Joseph II's Prayer-Book)

Originally published: Wien, Joseph Hraschanky, 1787

Language: German

The excerpts used are from the original edition, pp. 3–9 and 17–21.

About the author

Joseph Richter [1749, Vienna – 1813, Vienna]: writer and journalist. He came from a family of modest social standing (his father was a kitchenware dealer). He received his primary and secondary education in Vienna. Initially he inclined towards a business career but soon abandoned this path in favor of journalism. His first poetic work, *Gedichte zweier Freunde* (Poems of two friends), appeared in 1775, and it was followed by a series of dramas written for the National Theater. As a journalist, Richter wrote popular texts in which he described Viennese manners and customs. Some of these texts were published as *Briefe eines Eipeldauers an seinen Herrn Vetter in Kakran über d'Wienstadt* (Letters of an Eipeldauer to his cousin in Kakran about the city of Vienna). The 'letters' commented on local events in Vienna, as seen by a farmer. They were written in a stylized vernacular German—which made them accessible to a large audience—and offered a satirical picture of Vienna with all its features and customs. After 1780 Richter wrote several pamphlets supporting Joseph II's policies such as 'Joseph II's Prayer-Book' and 'Why is Emperor Joseph not loved by His people?', both published in 1787. After the death of Joseph II, and during the reign of Leopold II (r. 1790–1792) and Francis II (r. 1792–1835, from 1804 as Francis I Austrian Emperor) he remained a defender of the freedom of press and religion, and criticized the privileges of the nobility as well as deplored the economic situation of the lower strata of society. In the nineteenth century, he was portrayed as a supporter of the absolutist policies of Joseph II and largely ignored. Nevertheless, he has retained his place in the Austrian cultural canon due to the popularity of his 'Letters of an Eipeldauer,' repeatedly re-edited during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Main works: *Bildergalerie katholischer Misbräuche* [The picture gallery of Catholic abuses] (1784–1785); *Briefe eines Eipeldauers an seinen Herrn Vetter in Kakran über d'Wienstadt. Aufgefangen und mit Noten herausgegeben von einem Wiener* [Letters of an Eipeldauer to his cousin in Kakran about the city of Vienna.

Collected and annotated by a Viennese] (1785–1797); *Die Regierung des Hanswurstes; eine Komödie aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert* [The government of a clown. A comedy from the previous century] (1786); *Warum wird Kaiser Joseph von seinem Volke nicht geliebt?* [Why is Emperor Joseph not loved by His people?] (1787); *Aus dem Lexikon aller Anstössigkeiten und Prahlereyen, welche in denen zu Berlin in fünfzehn Bänden erschienenen sogenannten Schriften Friedrichs des Zweyten vorkommen* [From the lexicon of all vulgarities and bragging which appeared in Berlin in the 15 volumes of the so-called writings of Frederick II] (1790); *Kaiser Joseph der Zweite vor Minos Richterstuhl* [Emperor Joseph II before Minos' judgement-seat] (1791).

Context

During his reign Joseph II (r. 1780–1790) introduced a program of major reforms in Austria: improvement of the legal standing of the peasantry and soldiers; regulation of taxes and extension of taxation to the nobility and clergy; an Edict of Tolerance; intervention in Catholic institutions; secularization of the training of priests; and the reform of divine service and funerals. Arguably, the most important reforms were those aimed at subordinating the church to the authority of the state.

Although it appeared as if the Emperor's actions were directed against Catholicism as a religion, they rather illustrated Joseph II's profound distrust of the monastic orders and the Catholic clergy, which he perceived as subverting his authority and accumulating possessions to the detriment of the state. Joseph II was, in fact, a religious person, but his idea of religion was intricately connected to his idea of absolute monarchy. Not surprisingly, he also limited the influence of Pope Pius VI on Church affairs in Austria.

By the mid-1780s, it seemed that Joseph II's plan to create an absolutist monarchy guided by enlightened principles was about to materialize. Unfortunately for the emperor, the last years of his reign would be marked by internal strife and external wars and revolutions. Opposition from influential sections of the clergy and nobility against Joseph II's absolutist policies increased. At the time of Joseph II's death, discontent with his reforms and his foreign policy was widespread. The shadow of the French Revolution, the revolts against Austrian rule in the Southern Netherlands, the deterioration of relations with Prussia, Turkey and Russia and Joseph II's tendency to reject criticisms of his social and political reforms produced disappointment and frustration.

Coming from a staunch supporter of Josephism, Richter's text was an attempt at understanding the actions of the emperor and a plea for continuation of reform. By 'creating' Joseph II's prayer-book, Richter hoped to un-

veil the reasons behind Joseph II's actions. Two themes can be detected in Richter's analysis. The first reflects Joseph II's preoccupation with the effect his reforms were having within the Austrian lands. Richter believed that the Emperor was animated by good intentions and that his reforms were intended to elevate social and economic conditions within the Habsburg Monarchy; but he also believed that in return for his reforms Joseph required absolute loyalty from his subjects. According to Richter, Joseph II acted like an absolute monarch whose motivation could not be subjected to criticism. The presence of the Hungarians in his 'prayers' was illustrative in this sense. For the Hungarians, by abolishing the traditional county administration, Joseph II had violated historical rights which had been in existence for centuries.

The second theme derives from Richter's belief that although the powers of the Emperor were absolute, his intentions were always directed towards the achievement of the common good in the Empire. In 1781, just before a visit by Pope Pius VI, Joseph II confiscated some of the Catholic Church's possessions, which became property of the state. Bishops were required to take an oath of allegiance to the state. Even the Pope himself was restricted from issuing bulls, unless he discussed them with Joseph II first. Richter depicted Joseph II as a devout Catholic, yet an enlightened ruler. According to Richter, the conflict between Joseph II and the monastic orders was largely caused by the attitude of the Catholic Church. Moreover, Joseph II was as much anti-monastic as he was anti-papal, as he could never accept that the loyalty of the clergy was directed towards the Pope and not towards himself. Elaborating on these two themes, Richter sought to devise a basis of patriotic allegiance focusing on the person of the ruler representing the common good, contrasted to the 'particularism' of traditional frameworks of identification such as the Estates or the religious community.

Richter was a writer and publisher with considerable influence. His publicist activities were unrivalled during the Josephist period. He published, for example, no fewer than eleven periodicals, thirty-six plays, fifteen novels, five collections of poems, twenty-three comic plays and twenty-nine political books and pamphlets. Many of his writings had no literary value, and Richter himself disregarded the majority of them. He remains, however, an important reference for the understanding of the convoluted relationship between Joseph II and the intellectual establishment of the time, and of the often suppressed, although never eliminated, stream of anti-clericalism in the Austrian tradition.

Joseph II's Prayer-Book

One could judge a man's thoughts by his actions: a person who with a philosophical eye now examines Joseph's deeds will be able to acquaint himself with his mind. One needs to know no more than how this noble illustrious prince in the hours of quiet contemplation and pious devotion prays to the Creator. Although this is not exactly Joseph's true prayer-book; it is a faithful impression of the stirrings of his heart and his devotion to God—and one can therefore, without being presumptuous or deceitful, call this small work Joseph's prayer-book.

Morning meditations

Eternal, un-discerned Being that made peasant and king out of the same matter, before whose face the greatness of man vanishes like dust, how ardently I thank you for having allowed me once more to behold the light of your sun.

Your eternal, wise plan made me ruler of many lands and peoples: grant me strength therefore, so that I may with patience and courage continue to bear this burden, which only fools could envy me.

Illumine the eyes of my understanding, so that I may not allow myself to be confused by false reports, one-sided ideas, and proposals of pseudo-patriots, but may recognize what is truly beneficial to the welfare of my country.

Illumine the spirit of my ministers, chief administrators and counsellors, so that they never present me with lies as the truth, never sacrifice the commonweal to their own personal advantage, but willingly offer me their shoulders to help me to bear the great burden.

Princes remain human beings! Continue therefore to grant me the grace never to allow myself to be overwhelmed by a storm of passions and issue a hasty, oppressive and unjust decree, but instead, following your example, to rule my subjects with wisdom and benevolence.

Illumine my people, and particularly the spirit of my brave Hungarians, so that they no longer misjudge my good intentions, but, instead, willingly live in accordance with my ordinances.

Lastly, illumine the minds of my bishops and priests, so that they no longer resist a plan designed for the well-being of my subjects and the honour of mankind, but, as is their duty, offer their hands, and help me to carry it out. Amen. [...]

Thoughts on the dissolution of the monastic orders

I now take a step that will make me an abundance of enemies, and even many otherwise good subjects may well find it blameworthy.

But I trust in you, eternal, wisest Being of all—you see my heart, you know that I have only the well-being of mankind, only the happiness of my lands as my final aim. Lord Jesus, whom you sent to the world, taught active brotherly love, and made this the aim of all human happiness.

My monks have completely deviated from this doctrine. They live for idleness, and love only themselves.

They inveigle my people—draw them away from the adoration of your omnipotence to superstition, and teach them to hate their brothers.

Their number has become an onerous burden on the State. They sap it, injure the population, and, by their example, stifle industry.

They accumulate treasures, which they withdraw from the general circulation, obstruct every sort of enlightenment, and are unnecessary members of the State.

I therefore believe I am not misusing the power, which was according to your eternally wise plan placed into my hands, if I suppress these monastic orders one after another.

So that I do not, however, stop halfway in doing good, I shall take pains to ensure that they adopt purer principles as far as possible, and become worthy followers of our divine Teacher.

Grant me the strength therefore, eternal, almighty Being, to face all the pleas and threats of the papal court, all the remonstrance of partisan ministers and counsellors, the misrepresentations of many bishops, and the complaints of my people, so that I may felicitously and steadfastly accomplish the work undertaken for the well-being of my lands and the pure teaching of Christ, Amen.

Translated by Derek Paton

JÓZSEF HAJNÓCZY: LETTER TO MIKLÓS FORGÁCH

Title: *Levél Forgách Miklósnak* (Letter to Miklós Forgách)

Originally published: written in 1785, manuscript unpublished

Language: German

Translated into Hungarian by János Poór. The excerpts used are from János Poór, ed., *Hajnóczy József* (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 1998), pp. 154–157.

About the author

József Hajnóczy [1750, Modor (*Slo.* Modra, present-day Slovakia) – 1795, Buda]: advocate, politician, legal historian. His father was a Lutheran priest. Hajnóczy attended the Lutheran Grammar School of Pozsony (*Ger.* Pressburg, *Slo.* Prešporok, today Bratislava, Slovakia). He studied law and became an advocate in 1774. Being a Protestant limited his chances to become a civil servant, so eventually he accepted the invitation of Count Miklós Forgách to serve as his secretary. Later he became the secretary of Ferenc Széchenyi (a magnate of broad cultural interests, the father of **István Széchenyi**). When Széchenyi took up office in the reorganized administration of the country devised by Joseph II, Hajnóczy also obtained a position, becoming the secretary of Pécs district. Later on, he received further commissions in public administration. He was a fervent supporter of Josephism and retained his post even after his patron's withdrawal, which was caused by the growing tension between the Hungarian political elites and the enlightened-absolutist regime. Hajnóczy resigned from his position only after the death of Joseph II. He was involved in the reformist movement centered around the Diet convoked in 1790–91, and, while he could not become a deputy, he published a series of pamphlets concerning the political issues of the day. He was also an admirer of the French Revolution. In 1793 he became acquainted with Ignác Martinovics (1755–1795), the organizer of the 'Jacobin conspiracy.' In May 1794, he accepted the post of 'director' in the organization, which he considered a means to implement his constitutional reform projects. In June 1794, however, after Martinovics was arrested in Vienna, the members of the movement were rounded up. Hajnóczy, together with his 'co-directors', was tried and executed in 1795. While his person became part of the anti-Habsburg 'martyrology,' his writings were almost completely forgotten, even though many of his conceptions prefigured the political program of the Reform Age. His complex legal-philosophical arguments came to the attention of historians only in the twentieth century.

Main works: *Egy magyar hazafi gondolatai néhány, az országgyűlésre tartozó dologról* [The ideas of a Hungarian patriot concerning some issues pertaining to the Diet] (1790); *A magyar országgyűlésen javaslandó törvények lényege* [The essence of the laws to be proposed at the Hungarian Diet] (1790); *Közjogi értekezés a király hatalom korlátairól* [Treatise of public law on the limitations of royal power] (1791); *Magyarország országgyűléséről és annak szervezetéről szóló közjogi értekezés* [Treatise of public law on the Hungarian Diet and its organization] (1791); *A különféle közterhekről szóló értekezés* [Treatise on the various public burdens] (1792).

Context

József Hajnóczy was one of the emblematic figures of the reform movement in the 1780s, an example of the *homines novi* who gained positions due to Joseph II's policies inspired by the theories of *Staatsräson*. Joseph II sought to modernize his empire by improving the life-conditions of the non-privileged strata, especially the peasantry, as well as by implementing the policies of religious tolerance and cultural Germanization. He considered the self-government of the county gentry a major hindrance to his reforms, and sought to undermine the institutional positions of the nobility. Consequently, a new framework was set up to supersede the county-system, which, in its turn, was held to be the principal pillar of Hungarian constitutional life. As the conflict between the Emperor and the Hungarian Estates was becoming increasingly open, the Hungarian Josephists were also coming under fierce attack from their compatriots, who were determined to defy the Viennese policies under the *aegis* of national symbols. While his patron, Ferenc Széchényi was unable to resolve this tension and resigned, Hajnóczy chose to serve on.

His exchange of letters with Miklós Forgách reflected these tensions between the Enlightened project and the national discourse. Forgách, previously also the patron of Hajnóczy, accused him of influencing Széchényi to participate in the absolutist governmental measures, and bitterly criticized those who accepted office during the Josephist reform period, accusing them of destroying the constitutional framework rooted in the self-government of nobility and thus betraying the nation. Hajnóczy repudiated the allegations and gave an eloquent defense of Josephism, depicting the Hungarian political system as fatally corrupt and in need of radical change.

Hajnóczy's 'apology' is a restatement of some key tenets of Enlightend political philosophy in the Hungarian context and a subversion of the 'patriotic' rhetoric of the anti-Viennese opposition. He asserted the importance of enforcing measures that aim at the common good, even at the cost of undermin-

ing the institutions of noble self-government that were held to be the core of the Hungarian national identity. As he argued, laws are never based on the explicit consent of the entire community, but always on the decision of a minority, and their principal criterion is not procedural, but depends rather on whether they serve the common good or not. In his opinion, the Hungarian constitution was impossible to reform without resorting to force, as those who were involved in the administration of the constitutional order were those most interested in its conservation, and acting on behalf of the noblemen, they oppressed the non-privileged commoners who formed the overwhelming majority of the country. What is more, noble self-government, which was considered to be the core of the ancient constitutionalist tradition, was but a veiled instrument in the hands of the “ten magnates” who manipulated the entire political machinery.

In the second part of the letter, he draws a parallel between the political and religious norms that shape society. He contrasts the dogmatism of the religious denominations with the commitment of the enlightened citizen to furthering the common good regardless of denominational differences. Nevertheless, he considers custom an important constitutive element of the polity, and ideally holds it compatible with the rational search for the common good. Transferring this counter-position to the question of loyalties, he asserts that ideally it is possible to be simultaneously a *philanthrope* and a patriot, but if these two positions are opposed, he would rather opt for ‘philanthropy,’ that is, the universalist moral norms of the Enlightenment.

After the death of Joseph II, however, Hajnóczy stepped forward as one of the leaders of the constitutionalist movement. Turning towards the parliamentary framework that seemed to be re-emerging as the focus of political life, he set about formulating a coherent enlightened reform project integrated in a legal-constitutional framework. In this he sought to fuse the Hungarian discourse of ‘ancient constitutionalism’ with modern ideas of parliamentary sovereignty, combining historical, legal, and philosophical arguments—that is, turning patriotic discourse itself to the legitimization of social and institutional reformism, in order to open up the political system to the non-noble strata of society as well. Even though his theoretical synthesis remained without practical consequences, the progress of his thinking and the dilemmas that it manifested are representative of the evolution of the identity-discourse of the Hungarian ‘Late Enlightenment’ in the 1780–1790s, and also illustrate the features of pre-Romantic patriotism.

BT

Letter to Miklós Forgách

Your Excellency, Honourable Count,

For all that I did not intend to inquire into your views about the district commissioners, I was nevertheless glad to have you share them with me and even more glad that you commanded me to let Your Excellency know, if I should have time, whether your opinions were justified. Therefore I wish to make use of the right granted to me by Your Excellency, and I shall expound my views with the same candor as Your Excellency does, thereby commanding the universal respect of every decent man. Theories are indeed of no avail to convince me, and even less Your Excellency, of the profitable or unprofitable nature of the measures that are presently being carried out or likely to be expected. Nothing but some ten years of experience may be conclusive, during which the consequences and effects of such institutions become palpable. However, if I must speak theoretically, it appears to me that as regards the good of the nation it amounts to the same whether laws are enacted by a single man or a whole nation: both the essential nature of law and particularly the history of our country have strengthened me in this conviction. Laws are rules that man must conform his acts to; and since there has been no people hitherto who were unified in their opinions in the terms of Rousseau's Social Contract, therefore laws have always been rules dictated by the stronger party. Thence it arises that the moment the rule-giver becomes weaker, the stronger party refuses to obey; while the fact that one man is able to enforce his rules proves that the majority of the people are on his side. All this implies, not that the rules are equitable, but that it is wiser to keep them. To me, however, it appears that the very nature of the Hungarian constitution is such that it can be improved by no means other than force. May Your Excellency allow me to make a parallel here! When Luther, Calvin and others wanted to reform the church, there were a number of persons who, judging by their views at the time, admitted the truth of their claims but nevertheless did not want to join them, because they thought that the Church itself, consisting of so many honest and upright men besides the evil ones, should eliminate the abuses rather than that some individuals, who can be deceived more easily than the multitude, should do so. After many debates the wisest of the nations found that it mattered not whether these abuses should be removed by a whole Church synod or by individual men; in fact they found that Church synods or individual men could not eliminate these abuses, the Church being made up of people in whose interest it was to maintain them, and that

enlightened and honest princes using force could remedy these perturbations better. The same applies to the constitution of our government. Before the census it was held that there were 40,000 noblemen and 5 million commoners in Hungary. The former are legally incorporated by the estates, while the latter are subject to command. According to the laws, these 5 million people are slaves without any property. Our constitution renders them the natural enemies of the other side and vice versa. How could we suppose that the nobles give up or curb their alleged rights—rights that they obtain by birth, and property acquired by their ancestors by force, which they in no way hold to be illicit now? How could we expect the nobility in its present favorable condition to accept the claim that the peasants are entitled by nature to the same rights as they have, and that the constitution of the state will only be firmly established if the peasants may hope to enjoy advantages from it? Reading the *Corpus Iuris*¹ I find that in each decree—except for the ones that, being equally binding for everyone, have proved to be good—the king and the estates have divided the peasantry just as the lion and the wolf divided the lamb. I can proceed even further. These 40,000 people are represented at the Parliament by about 500 persons. At almost every meeting of the Parliament they refuse to comply with the instructions received from their electoral districts. Should we, then, regard our laws as enacted by the estates? As for the last meeting of the Parliament, I refer the case to Your Excellency, but the same can be proved for the previous ones too. Furthermore: among these 500 representatives there are hardly ten who do in fact participate in legislation actively. The rest are automatons that these ten men can manipulate as they please through ties of kinship, honorary posts, money and intimidation. Let Your Excellency think over the last Parliament: but the same conclusion would result if a philosophical author were to treat the history of our Parliaments. And are these ten people really informed by a spirit which has in mind the common good? And yet it is a fact that the estates have framed the laws for themselves freely and without any compulsion. From this I draw the following conclusions:

Firstly: what matters is not whether the laws are framed by the sovereign or the protonotaries but whether the rules rendered into laws serve the common good.

Secondly—and this is even more important for me—zealous partisans of religions tend to proclaim that a given person does not believe in this or that

¹ The collection of Hungarian customary law, serving as the main legal authority until the nineteenth century.

and therefore he is not an honest and upright man. Philosophers dispute this, proving that the character of a man manifests itself not in his theories on fundamental principles but in life situations—notably in whether he is a good husband, father, child, master, servant, friend, relative or contracting party; whether he helps others if he can; whether, as an official, he passes a judgment based on common sense or on finicky hair-splitting sophistries or on the bribes received from any of the sides. If (according to the philosophers) one behaves in such or similar situations in the way expected from him by others with a different faith, then he is indeed an honest man, whether he is an advocate of the system of the Pope, Luther, Calvin, Socinus, Hume, Helvetius or none of these. Likewise, I believe it should be acknowledged that the honesty of a citizen should be judged by this and not by whether he considers a given form of government good or not. Moreover, if the welfare of human society lies close to my heart and I am convinced of the harmful effects of the phantom of superstition upon it, and I also know that no church synod can achieve anything against this, then it is my duty to do everything to promote the advent of common sense and to lay the foundations of men's welfare, even though I may still participate in the rituals of the church I belong to because the country's laws require it, and because I can be all the more active and efficient by this means. And if I know that our form of government results in a natural enmity between noble and commoner, and that no assembly of the estates is ever likely to give up by its own will a right acquired and maintained by force, it is still my duty to do everything to help all of my fellow human beings to their natural rights—rights that can never be forfeited and never be annulled by a civil contract. Indeed, this is my duty even if I adapt my deeds for the sake of my objective to the existing rules as long as they are valid. And I am convinced that by living this way I can be philanthropic and a good patriot at the same time; but if the two are irreconcilable, I would rather wish to be a *philanthrope* than a patriot. Such is my system. [...]

Translated by Dávid Oláh

SUPPLEX LIBELLUS VALACHORUM

Title: *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*

Originally published: Published by Joseph Carol Eder, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum Transsilvaniae iura tribus receptis nationibus communia postliminio sibi adseri postulantium* (Claudiopolis [Cluj, Kolozsvár], 1791)

Language: Latin

The excerpts used are from David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (Bucharest: Enciclopedică, 1998), pp. 558–559 and 570–571.

Context

Although the Romanian masses were excluded from the political life of Transylvania (a condition that had prevailed since 1437, when the leaders of the so-called *nationes* of Transylvania—the Hungarian nobility, the Szeklers and the Saxon burghers—formed a political union to protect their privileges in the face of a revolt of the peasantry), the Union with Rome (1699–1700) created an opportunity for at least a segment of the Romanian population to improve their social and cultural conditions. This became all the more important as the enlightened regime of Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and Joseph II (1780–1790) favored the social and political ascendancy of educated priests of Romanian origin in Transylvania. Eventually, the union opened the Roman Catholic educational system in the Habsburg Empire and beyond to Romanian students who later became prominent members of the Greek Catholic (‘Uniate’) Church and initiators of a process of cultural revival.

One of the most important public acts of the new generation of Romanian scholars was the compilation of *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, which was submitted to Leopold II in 1791. The precise identity of its authors is not known but the document is considered to be the collective work of the leading Romanian intellectuals of the time, including, among others, Samuil Micu (1746–1802), Ioan Molnar-Piuariu (1749–1815), **Ion Budai-Deleanu** (1760–1820), **Petru Maior** (1756–1821) and Gheorghe Șincai

(1754–1816). The *Supplex* was part of a systematic campaign to obtain national rights for Romanians in Transylvania. This campaign was initiated by Bishop Inochentie Micu-Klein (1692–1768), who, during the 1740s and 1750s, submitted a series of pleas on the issue to the Diet of Transylvania and the Habsburg court in Vienna. One of his arguments was that the Romanians originated from the colonists brought in by Emperor Trajan (r. 98–117 AD) after his conquest of Dacia in 105–106 AD, and their descendants had been living in the country ever since. He thus formulated the theory of Roman continuity in Dacia, a theory which was to provide the legitimacy for the confessional and political struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This theory was further elaborated by the members of the ‘Transylvanian School’ and constituted one of the major themes developed in the *Supplex*.

The text was not just the result of internal discussion on the nature of the nation within the community of Romanian intellectuals but also a reflection of the general intellectual environment of the period. As such, the text must be integrated within the general transformations characterizing the late-eighteenth century Habsburg Monarchy. One important feature of this period was the revival of national languages, a process that took a particular form in Hungary. As a reaction to the Germanization policies of Joseph II, leading Hungarian intellectuals of the period advocated the creation of a modern Hungarian language that could be used as the language of high culture and politics instead of German. The revival of the Hungarian language was accompanied by attempts at social and political reform. In the context of revived parliamentarism after the death of Joseph II, Hungarian reformists also addressed the political, constitutional, and economic relationship between Hungary and the Habsburg Empire. The Hungarian national revival reverberated among those Transylvanian Romanian intellectuals who were preoccupied with similar issues. The *Supplex* was part of a concerted endeavor to proclaim the right to a national existence of the Romanians following a pattern of national revival inaugurated by other nations of the Habsburg Empire.

There are two main theses expounded in the text. The first is an elaboration of the theory of Roman continuity, while the second argues that the Romanians were unjustly excluded from the political life of Transylvania. It thus advocates the restoration of political rights and social privileges to the Romanian nation. Furthermore, the *Supplex* asks for proportional representation in the administrative structures, and, significantly, asserts the necessity of organizing a ‘national congress’ composed of nobles and clergy

under the common leadership of the Uniate and Orthodox bishops that should discuss the demands of the Romanian population. The theory of continuity between the ancient Romans and modern Romanians in Transylvania was thus used to strengthen the political claim for the recognition of Romanians as the fourth 'nation' in the constitutional structure of Transylvania.

The response of the Habsburg authorities was, however, unfavorable. The Imperial Court, preoccupied with maintaining the status quo, sought to avoid antagonizing the Hungarian nobility. Some changes in the political status of the Transylvanian Romanians did nevertheless occur. In August 1791, for example, the Transylvanian Diet granted the Orthodox Romanians freedom of worship. In addition, Romanian leaders in Transylvania continued to petition for political rights. A second *Supplex* followed in 1792, which included many of the arguments set out in the first *Supplex*, but was written in a more coherent form. For all that, the attitude of the Habsburg Court remained unchanged.

The *Supplex* marked the beginning of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania. During the nineteenth century the *Supplex* was invoked as a programmatic document of the Romanian national movement in the Habsburg Empire and extolled as the most important political act on the part of the Transylvanian Romanians during the Age of the Enlightenment. In the twentieth century, however, there were critical attempts to explain the national program envisioned by the authors of the *Supplex* and the 'Transylvanian School' in view of similar developments in Europe at the time. For example, Dumitru Popovici's *La littérature roumaine à l'époque des Lumières* (1945) provided one such critical evaluation of the transmission of the ideas of the Enlightenment to Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. During the communist era, however, the nationalist interpretation of the text predominated, and the confessional and cultural aspects of the movement and its connections to similar activities in the Habsburg Monarchy were largely neglected in the official discourse, although the monograph of David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (1948), was an important contribution to the understanding of the political and intellectual context of the *Supplex*.

MT

Supplex Libellus Valachorum

Your Imperial Highness,

Because in ruling over this Empire Your Majesty's most important and most justified goal is that the rights of men, and the rights of civil society, should be extended first of all to all members that make it up through their union, and undertake to support with their life and wealth the task of maintaining it, so that a part of the citizens does not break away from the other part, to deprive it forcibly of its rights and oppress it. For this reason, the Romanian nation, which lives in the Great Principality of Transylvania, by way of this *Supplex* falls publicly at the throne of Your Majesty, and prays with all its power to have its old rights returned, rights which are connected by the very nature of things to all citizens, and of which, in the last century, she was deprived of, as it will be shown in the following, without any right, but only by reason of the unfavorable times.

The Romanian nation is by far the oldest of all nations in today's Transylvania, because it is a certain and proven thing based on historical evidence—of a tradition that was never discontinued, of the similarity of languages, traditions and customs that spring from the Roman colonies brought here to Dacia, at the beginning of the second century by Emperor Trajan, in numerous waves, with a very large number of veteran soldiers to defend the Province.

The descendants of the august Trajan ruled Dacia for several centuries. Under their uninterrupted rule of the Province, they spread the Christian faith after the rite of the Eastern Church through the effort of Bishops Protogen, Gaudentius, Niceta and Theotin, especially in the fourth century, as demonstrated by the entire history of the Church.

For this reason, in the third century, barbarian tribes started to threaten the lives of people in this rich Province of the Roman Empire, and managed to establish stable settlements for a while in some parts of it; however, they never managed to proceed so far as to wipe out completely the name or the power of the Romans; for it is a sure thing that in the sixth century several fortified cities, especially along the Danube, were subject to the Roman emperors in the east, but the parts inside the Province were filled with such a large number of Roman inhabitants that from the seventh century, after having got rid of the foreign yoke, they established their own state.

This fortunate situation was especially true of that part of Dacia that is today called Transylvania, and the Roman inhabitants here, after having re-

moved the rule of other tribes, followed their own rulers, elected from the nation, until the Hungarians came.

Since then, and until the present day, there has remained that vestige of the rulers which, among other foreign peoples that came to this part of the world, had the name of Vlahi or Valahi, given by some of the Slavic tribes to the Roman inhabitants of Dacia. According to Lucius the Dalmatian¹ and Cromer the Pole,² by Vlachi the Slavic peoples meant any Roman, Italian or Latin; but later [this name] was kept only for the Roman inhabitants of Dacia.

When, under their Duke Tuhutum, the Hungarians came to Transylvania, towards the end of the ninth century, the Roman inhabitants of these parts were called, under the changed name, Vlachs. According to the first writer of Hungary, Anonymus, the notary of King Béla,³ they were led at that time by their own Duke Gelu, with supreme power, who was unfortunate in the fight that he led against the Hungarians to defend his country, as in that fight he lost both his leadership and his life.

After the regrettable fate of their Prince, the Roman inhabitants of the Province, who are known as Vlachs, did not oppose the Hungarians any more, but seeing the death of their master (as Anonymus, the notary of King Béla, tells us in *Historia Ducum Hungariae*, Chapter VI), giving up their right, of their own will, chose Tuhutum, the duke of the Hungarians, to be their master, and confirmed their faith by vow.

Gyula the Elder, nephew of Duke Tuhutum, also duke of Transylvania, when traveling to Constantinople, embraced there, in the tenth century, the Christian faith after the rite of the Eastern Church, and taking the monk Iero-teus back with him to Transylvania, who was then installed in the chair of the bishop, brought to the bosom of the same church many more of his people, as we are told by Sámuel Timon⁴ in *Imago antiquae Hungariae*.

[...]

For these reasons,

The Romanian nation humbly comes to Your Majesty's throne and, with due veneration and subjection, prays and asks of You the following:

1. That the odious and insulting names, such as *tolerated, admitted, not included among the Estates*, and others of the kind, which, like spots from

¹ Ivan Lucić (1604–1679), Dalmatian historian.

² Marcin Cromer (1512–1589), Polish chronicler and Catholic theologian.

³ Most probably of King Béla III (r. 1172–1196).

⁴ Sámuel Timon (1675–1736), Hungarian Jesuit historian.

outside, were impressed without right and law on the forehead of the Romanian nation, should now be removed, revoked and renounced publicly as unfitting and unjust, and thus through Your Majesty's mercy, the sacred Romanian nation, reborn, should be placed again in the use of all its civil and political rights; consequently,

2. That the supplicant nation should be returned, among the political nations, to the same place that it held according to the Document cited above from the convent of Virgin Mary of Cluj-Mănăştur⁵ in the year 1437.

3. The clergy of this nation, faithful to the Eastern Church, no matter whether it thinks the same way as the Catholic Church or not, as well as the nobility and the people, both town-dwellers and the rural people, should be counted and treated in the same way as the clergy, the nobility and the people of the nations that make up the system of the union, and be made participants in the same benefits.

4. In shires, seats, districts and city communities, on the occasion of electing the civil servants and deputies to the Diet, and also when it happens that new appointments or promotions are made to the positions of the royal and provincial diets, the procedure should be just and the numbers of the persons of this nation proportional.

5. Shires, seats, districts and city communities in which Romanians outnumber the other nations should also have a Romanian name; however, those in which the other nations outnumber the Romanians should bear mixed names, such as *Hungarian-Romanian*, *Saxon-Romanian*, or, finally, removing altogether the name taken from one nation or the other, both the shires, and the seats and districts should keep only that name which, so far, was given after rivers or fortresses, and declare that all the inhabitants of the Principality, without discrimination based on nationality or religion, must use and enjoy, after each one's state and condition, the same liberties and benefits, and bear the same responsibilities according to their capacities. [...]

Translated by Mária Kovács

⁵ *Hun.* Kolozsmonostor.

THE TARGOWICA CONFEDERATION

Title: *Akt założenia konfederacji targowickiej* (Founding act of the Targowica Confederation)

Originally published: Originally announced in Targowica, 14 May 1792

Language: Polish

Modern Polish edition: Anna Radziwiłł and Wojciech Roszkowski, *Historia 1789–1871: Podręcznik dla szkół średnich* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, 1997), pp. 134–135.

Context

Since 1788 the Polish parliament had had to tackle several problems, for example, military reform, the emancipation of the bourgeoisie, the strengthening of monarchic power and the reassessment of the political rights of the gentry (see **Franciszek Salezy Jezierski**, *Some words, alphabetically ordered*). The adoption of the Constitution of 3 May 1791 was accompanied by patriotic declarations announcing the restoration of the ancient glory of the Commonwealth. It was, however, the same patriotic vocabulary that was present in public speeches delivered by the opponents of the Constitution. Many of them criticized the absolutist tendencies of the reformers. Moreover, one of the most controversial decisions of the Constitution deprived the poorest segment of the gentry of its political rights and simultaneously elevated the status of the bourgeoisie. Finally, the critics deplored the abolishing of the *liberum veto* (the custom of requiring a unanimous vote for any parliamentary decision), which was a crucial institution of the early-modern Republic.

In the center of the debate between the conservative republican gentry and the enlightened reformers was the very idea of creating a new constitutional code designed to replace tradition and customary law. Since, in the conservative understanding, it was precisely the laws, customs, and traditions of the gentry that defined the nation, the opponents of the Constitution assumed

that, without the liberties of the gentry, no Polish nation could exist. Therefore they equated the reforms with the 'death of the nation.' This was in large part a pure rhetoric gesture (rhetoric belonging to the traditional curriculum of gentry education), especially when, for example, one of the deputies blackmailed the Diet by saying that if the constitution was adopted he would kill his son, for "he cannot live as a slave." But this opposition was not only an archaic gesture. It is noteworthy that the noble republic had a positive resonance in the writings of many prominent figures of the Enlightenment. Rousseau claimed to have found in it the true virtues of individual freedom and described it as a society which did not suppress its members. In turn, Polish conservative republicans commented positively on French attempts to restrict and eventually overthrow the "unbearable tyranny" in 1789. It was only after the outbreak of the Jacobin terror that the positive evaluation of the French revolution became restricted to the Polish radical left.

The Targowica Confederation was a powerful and radical expression of republicanism, though it was far from being spontaneous. Its proclamation was prepared in St. Petersburg in January 1792 by the Polish aristocrats Seweryn Rzewuski and Ksawery Branicki, assisted by a Russian general, Vassilii Popov. In May it was officially announced in the small town of Targowica (in present-day Ukraine), an estate of Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki, and several days later the Russian army invaded Poland. During the war more and more nobles signed the act of the Confederation. In July 1792 even king Stanisław August Poniatowski signed it, together with many of the adherents of the Constitution (among others Hugo Kołłątaj). Those, who joined the confederation might have perceived it as a part of the Polish political system but the internal policy of Targowica soon became known for its corruption, nepotism and chaotic style of governing. Furthermore, the power of this quasi-government was restricted by numerous Russian officials and military men occupying the country and neglecting their allies.

The hopes of the signatories of the Confederation, to restore the 'ancient regime' with Russian help, were dashed when Catherine II violated the territorial integrity of the Commonwealth. After several months of negotiations between the Russian and Prussian courts, Poland was partitioned for the second time. At this point the leaders of the Targowica Confederation realized that neither Friedrich Wilhelm II nor Catherine II had a vested interest in maintaining an independent Polish *res publica*.

Targowica became a symbol of national disgrace. The motivations of the republicans were in retrospect labeled as perfidious and mean. In the late-eighteenth century, however, the very ideas of nation and fatherland were

diffuse and in a process of transformation from the pre-modern understanding of a community of noblemen towards the modern concept based on popular sovereignty. The romantic and post-romantic critics of Targowica used the normative connotations of modern political language in a way that Rzewuski and Branicki would have barely understood.

MG

The Founding Act of the Targowica Confederation

We, the senators and ministers of the Republic, the crown officers, dignitaries and knights, recognize that the Republic is no longer ours, that today's parliament [...] has broken all fundamental laws, swept away all liberties of the gentry and on the third of May 1791 turned into a revolution and a conspiracy. Its new form of government, established by the bourgeois, ulans, and soldiers, has dictated new laws of succession to the throne, freed the king from the obligation of taking an oath of *pacta conventa*, extended royal powers, and turned the Republic into a monarchy. It has robbed the gentry without possessions of its equality and liberty. It has ignored the nation's will expressed in the provincial instructions. It has turned the punishing sword away from our country's enemies and directed its blade to those who have the courage to protest against lawlessness. It has forced the army to defend the nation's imprisonment, [...] and, itself working as a confederation, has forbidden this freedom to the nation [...]. Finally, it has tried to lead us into war with Russia, our best neighbor, friend and ally. These and many more of this parliament's depravities and the savage blows it has dealt to freedom are far too numerous to be counted. Therefore, having no hope that this parliament will ever come to its senses [...], uncomfortable in the shackles imposed on us by the May Constitution, and preferring death to slavery, we hereby protest against the succession to the throne declared in the May Constitution [...] and finally, against all bills and regulations which have been passed in this parliament and which deprive the country of its liberty. We hereby unite ourselves in the spirit of the Roman Catholic religion into an unbreakable free confederacy in support of equality and privileges for all the gentry—not only the residing; in support of the integrity of our country's borders [...], of a liberal government, and of preserving the Crown's union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; in support of all liberties of the gentry and of the nation's greatness. We confederate against the succession to the throne, against extending royal powers, against separating the least part of the country [...], against the

May Constitution, which has turned the Republic into a monarchy [...], against all of this parliament's illegal acts, and lastly, against all who subsidize and support the Constitution of the 3rd of May. [...]

Since the Republic is overthrown and—having its powers concentrated in the hands of oppressors—unable single-handedly to throw off its chains, it can do nothing but turn trustingly to Tsarina Catherine, a distinguished and fair empress of our neighboring friend and ally, and rely on her authority and the treaties which bind her with the Republic.

We hereby demand that Poland be self-governed and independent within its borders, inasmuch as it has never been dependent nor has it ever become anybody's property and heritage. We demand dignified liberty for our compatriots, whose ancestors have lived in this land for centuries, who have been born in this land and wish to die here as well. We demand both peace at home and peace with our neighbors, for we desire not upheavals but common happiness and security for our possessions. We demand recognition for our Republican government, because we can accept no other, and because any other can only bring about our anxiety and ruin.

These are our demands, for which to be achieved we need the assistance of the great Russian Tsarina, who, being the apple of this century's eye, deplores and crushes all malice and all envious ploys, who respects the nation's need for well-being and always offers it a helping hand. [...]

It is you, brothers, whom we address, to whom we raise our hopes about our homeland, the homeland which is disintegrating but which you are capable of saving from decay. Do not think it is all only about us—when the Republic dies, you will die as well. Do not forget that under tyranny one can prolong one's agony, but one cannot escape it. Sooner or later, all freedom that is nourished by despotism shall go to the dogs.

Translated by Zuzanna Ładyga

TADEUSZ KOŚCIUSZKO: POŁANIEC MANIFESTO

Title: *Uniwersał Połaniecki* (Połaniec Manifesto)

Originally published: Proclaimed in Połaniec on 7 May 1794, then printed as a leaflet in Cracow

Language: Polish

Modern edition: *Polish Democratic Thought from the Renaissance to the Great Emigration: Essays and Documents*, edited with an introduction by M. B. Biskupski & James S. Pula (Boulder: East European Monographs, no. CCLXXXIX, 1990), pp. 184–189. English translation: *ibidem*, pp. 189–193.

About the author

Tadeusz Kościuszko [1746, Mereczowszczyzna (near Kossów in Polesie, *Bel. Maračouščyna*, present-day Belarus) – 1817, Zuchwyll (Switzerland)]: politician and military leader. He was born into a gentry family in the eastern part of the Commonwealth. As a client of the influential aristocratic Czartoryski family he was educated at the ‘Knight School’ (*Szkoła Rycerska*), an enlightened high school teaching military sciences and at the same time inculcating civic virtues. Due to his exceptional mathematical abilities he was sent to France to complete his education. From 1775 until 1783 Kościuszko fought in the American War of Independence. He attained the rank of general in Washington’s army, gained a reputation as a skilled military engineer, and was made an American (and French) citizen in honour of his services. After his return to Poland, Kościuszko took part in the campaign against Russia in 1792, where he proved to be an excellent and popular commander. In 1794 he organized an insurrection. His original idea, based on his experience from the War of Independence, was to arm a peasant militia with scythes (*kosynierzy*). He was captured by the Russians in November 1794. After being released from prison, he spent the rest of his life in France and Switzerland. He refused to support both the Warsaw Duchy created by Napoleon and the Polish Kingdom restored by Alexander I in 1815; in his view the “two tyrants” (as he put it) never intended to restore Polish statehood. Kościuszko’s brochure, ‘Can the Poles win through to independence?’ (written with his secretary Józef Pawlikowski and published anonymously), argued that the captive nation could not count on the support of any foreign power, but had to rely exclusively on its own strength and resources. Kościuszko remains an emblematic figure and a popular embodiment of Polish patriotism. His legend culminated at the turn of

the nineteenth century in a series of anniversaries and solemnities, especially in Galicia, where memorials to him are still familiar elements of the landscape.

Main works: *Manoeuvres of Horse Artillery* (1809); *Czy Polacy mogą się wybić na niepodległość?* (together with Józef Pawlikowski) [Can the Poles win through to independence?] (1800).

Context

The 3rd of May Constitution (1791) served the Russian Empress Catherine II as a pretext for military intervention in Poland. In 1792, after several months of campaign, the ‘Jacobin’ neighbor was crushed and the whole country became subsumed under Russian military administration. In 1793 a second partition took place (this time without Austrian participation). Among the most confused were Polish military men, now subordinated to the Russian conquerors and expecting mass dismissal. In such conditions they were ready to join patriotic and radical ‘men of action’ who were planning an uprising and hoping to receive assistance from revolutionary France. Tadeusz Kościuszko, hero of the American War of Independence and veteran of the last campaign against Russia, was invited to be the military commander. Attempts to win the support of Robespierre, however, did not succeed. At the same time, the alarmed Russians started to disarm the remnants of the Polish army. Kościuszko was thus forced to return from Western Europe and start the insurrection without further delay.

From the very beginning of the uprising it became clear that the Polish military effort could not succeed without the support of the unprivileged masses. Kościuszko himself stressed the use of democratic slogans and promoted his populist credentials gained at the battle of Racławice, where he led a peasant unit to victory over the Russian artillery. The image of Kościuszko, dressed in peasant garb, leading a peasant army against the Russians has become iconic in Polish historical imagery. On 7th May 1794 Kościuszko signed the ‘Połaniec Manifesto’ declaring the partial abolition of serfdom.

The Manifesto, leaving aside its practical content, seems to be an example of a transitory understanding of the term ‘nation’: in-between the old idea of the political *natio* of the gentry and a new, ‘democratic’ nation, which included the lower classes. Kościuszko concentrated on the legal and economic situation of the peasantry. He re-formulated the slogan of the French

Revolution to give it a more moderate shape: “freedom, unity, independence.” In practical terms, the Manifesto was an attempt to serve the military needs of the insurrection (in particular, to reduce the high number of desertions among the peasant-soldiers and collaboration with the Russian forces). Kościuszko’s mobilizing rhetoric retained a considerable dose of the early-modern discourse of patriotism focusing on the “common good.” In contrast to the exclusivism of gentry republicanism, however, Kościuszko’s ideas evolved towards shaping a new definition of the Polish nation, based on the inclusion of all social classes, including the peasantry, as citizens of the *Rzeczpospolita*.

Kościuszko’s heritage has become the *exemplum* of national heroism and civic virtue. It has also become the historical and symbolic basis of the Polish agrarian movement. For the communist regime, Kościuszko was an embarrassing figure: on the one hand, he was considered progressive, patriotic and internationalist, on the other hand, he was the head of an anti-Russian uprising and—despite his ‘progressive’ credentials—a moderate reformer. Nevertheless, the first military unit created by Polish communists on Soviet territory during the Second World War was named after Kościuszko. Quite recently, in the first years after the fall of the Soviet Union Kościuszko also featured as a key figure in Belarusian national and historical identity-building. His canonic position as a Polish national hero remains unchanged.

MG

Połaniec Manifesto

Tadeusz Kościuszko, Supreme Commander of the National Armed Forces

To the Commission for Order of all Lands and Districts

Never have Poles been in dread of the weapons of their enemies as long as they were united among themselves and were able to use all their strength. It will never happen, I declare, that an army will conquer Poles if a cunning enemy through perversity, betrayal and deceit does not first destroy our will and our means of resistance. The entire course of Muscovite tyranny in Poland is proof of the degree to which this alien force has disrupted our fate by various measures: bribery, mendacious promises, prejudicial exaggeration, inciting passions, inflaming one against another, blackening us to outsiders,

everything, in a word, that devilish malice combined with the most perverse cunning could conceive.

In the many instances in which Poles have taken up arms against them, can this breed of brigands count a single victory over us? But the fate of Polish courage has always been that the conquered enemy has replaced the yoke on our victorious necks at the moment we stop to rest. How has such a turn of events for Poland come about? How has the nation come to groan without the means to free itself? It is thus that the cunning of Muscovite intrigue, more powerful than arms, has caused the Poles to be undone by the Poles themselves.

Moreover, the unfortunate Poles are divided by views regarding government and opinions about the law, upon which freedom and national organization must be based, and to innocent differences of opinion the criminal spirit of self-love and selfish prospects mixed obstinacy, delay, and the tendency to comport with outsiders, and hence craven submission to them.

The time has come, unhappiness and suffering are far advanced; the time of the ultimate fate of Poland, the epoch in which one goal, one indubitable purpose, which permits no disagreement and which should unite hearts and minds and allow divided Poles to come to a general alliance, excepting those who are known traitors or those timid and insecure citizens who follow their private motives. The current national rising aims to return freedom, unity and independence to Poland, and leave to freer times and the nation's will to determine under what sort of government it wishes to live. The existence of a diversity of opinions is suspended, the holy and obvious cause moves hearts strongly and collects together even those who were heretofore divided for manifold reasons.

Hence, the time, this very moment must be seized with the greatest eagerness. The enemy exerts his entire energy to prevent our using this occasion. He is using weapons, but these are the least dangerous force at his disposal. Against the pile of the frightened, already enslaved, we oppose the massed force of free citizens who, fighting for their own happiness, cannot fail to prevail, and that which has hitherto conquered us is the instrument of stealthily gnawing beasts, this loathsome Machiavellian product will be overcome by our attention, the ardor of worthy citizens and the terrible sword of justice which reaches everywhere treason or perversity harmful to the nation appears.

The fate of Poland depends on whether we crush the double power of our enemies, that is, the force of his armies and of his intrigues. I must, hence, inform the nation that the Muscovites are seeking means to enrage the coun-

try folk against us, citing the arbitrariness of the lords, their former misery, and, finally, the prospect of a more prosperous future with Muscovite help. Speaking thus, they encourage and collaborate with the country folk in the joint plunder of the manors. These simple people, many times misled because of their distress, can and will fall into snares, and already we have seen that by seduction or force they have been put into enemy uniform.

I must note with regret that the Muscovite has often made such terrible use of the Nation. Again and again I have received complaints from soldiers and recruits, that their wives and children have not only failed to receive special attention, but that while their husbands and fathers serve the Commonwealth, they are subjected to the greatest burdens. Such matters are certainly in many places without the knowledge and contrary to the will of the landowners, but in other places it must be the result of ill will or an alien inspiration to dampen entirely the drive to defend the Fatherland among the common people.

But humanity, justice, and the good of the Fatherland show us easy and sure means by which we can avert the intrigues of domestic malice or foreign intrigue. Let us declare that the peasants not only remain under the protection of the National Government, that an oppressed person has a prepared refuge with the Commission for Order of his province, but that the oppressor, the persecutor of those defending the country will be punished as an enemy of and traitor to the Fatherland. This measure, worthy of the justice of a glorious nation, agreeable to the kind hearted, and only lightly burdening personal interests, will join the common people to the public cause and protect them from the enemy's snares. Hence I recommend to the Commission for Order of the Provinces and the Lands of the entire country that the following arrangement is to be given to all landlords, property holders and all their subordinate administrators:

First: Tell the common people that according to the law they remain under the protection of the National government.

Second: That every peasant is personally free and that he is free to move where he wishes, provided he notifies the Commission for Order of his Province as to where he goes, and provided he has paid all due debts as well as the national taxes.

Third: That the common people have relief in their labor. [...] The leave system will last the duration of the insurrection, that is, until the permanent legislative authorities make arrangements in this matter.

Fourth: Local authorities shall endeavor to ensure that the farms of those who serve in the army of the Commonwealth do not fall into decay and that

the land, which is the source of our wealth, shall not lie fallow; both the manors and the hamlets should attend to this matter.

Fifth: From those who are called to the general levy, as long as they remain under arms, no *corvée* will be exacted, but will begin only with their return home.

[...]

Seventh: Should a sub-prefect, steward or commissioner violate this regulation and burden the peasantry, he may be taken before the Commission and given to a criminal court.

Eighth: If a landlord (and this I do not expect) orders or commits similar oppressions, they will be called to account as opponents of the goal of the insurrection.

[...]

Twelfth: The benefaction of the government in easing the burdens of the common people should encourage them all the more to work, to farm, to defend the Fatherland. Should there be those who would debauch themselves by abusing the generosity and sense of justice of the government, would dissuade others from work, would rebel against the landlords, would refuse to defend the Fatherland, the Commission for Order in the Counties and Districts will have to turn their diligent attention to this and immediately order the arrest of these blackguards and give them over to the criminal Court.

[...]

Thirteenth: The Clergy, the especial leaders of the common people, should emphasize their obligations towards the Fatherland, which is really a mother to them. These Clergy should enlighten the people that diligent work on their own land and that of the manor is as dear a sacrifice for the Fatherland as that performed by him who with armed force protects it from the pillage and robbery of enemy soldiers; that in fulfilling his obligations to the manors, as abated by this manifesto, he need do nothing more, and must only pay the debt to the landlords from whom he received the lands.

Fourteenth: Clergy of both confessions shall announce this manifesto from the pulpits of the Catholic and Orthodox churches for the next four Sundays; moreover, the Commissions for Order shall designate from their ranks (or from amongst the general citizenry dedicated to the good of the Fatherland) people who will visit gatherings in the villages and parishes and there read

this manifesto aloud, encouraging the people to demonstrate their gratitude for the benefaction by sincere eagerness in the defence of the Commonwealth.

Issued at the camp near Połaniec, May 7, 1794

Tadeusz Kościuszko

Translated by Mieczysław B. Biskupski, in *Polish Democratic Thought from the Renaissance to the Great Emigration: Essays and Documents*, edited with an introduction by M. B. Biskupski & James S. Pula (Boulder: East European Monographs, no. CCLXXXIX, 1990), pp. 189–193.

ALOJZY FELIŃSKI: HYMN

Title: *Boże, coś Polskę* (1816), or *Pieśń narodowa za pomyślność króla* (National song for the welfare of the king), known also as *Hymn* and *Modlitwa za ojczyznę* (Prayer for the Fatherland)

Originally published: Warsaw, 1816

Language: Polish

Modern Polish edition: *Polish literature from the Middle Ages to the end of the eighteenth century: A bilingual anthology*, selected and translated by Michael J. Mikoś (Warszawa: Constans, 1999), pp. 121–122. English translation, pp. 123–124.

About the author

Alojzy Feliński [1771, Łuck (*Ukr.* Lutsk, present-day Ukraine) – 1820, Krzemieniec (*Ukr.* Kremenets, present-day Ukraine)]: writer. Feliński's name is certainly far less known than the *Hymn* he composed. Son of a gentry family from Ukraine, Feliński started his literary activity during the last years of the Commonwealth. Inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment, he was a supporter of limited reforms of the state. As an intelligent and promising young man, he was hired as a tutor by the aristocratic Tarnowski family. The young Feliński took part in **Kościuszko's** insurrection, and after its failure moved back to his small estate in Ukraine. He worked in a Lyceum in Krzemieniec and participated in the literary life of the Congress Kingdom. During the orthographical debate, Feliński advocated the usage of the new letter 'j' in written Polish, and supported the adherents of the new romantic trend in literature and democratic politics. Nevertheless, he never played an important role in the Kingdom's political or cultural life, remaining a provincial intellectual and landowner.

Main works: *Barbara Radziwiłłówna* (1817); *Wirginia* (1818).

Context

After the defeat of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, Russian troops occupied the Warsaw Duchy. The overwhelming part of the country was constituted as a new state, with the tsar as a Polish constitutional king, as stipu-

lated by the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815). A liberal constitution, a parliament, a Polish administration and self-government for the Kingdom were strong arguments for Polish-Russian co-operation. Those who argued for such cooperation drew parallels with the triumph of Greek culture in the Roman Empire; **Stanisław Staszic**, for instance, declared that the more ‘Europeanized’ Poles would act as *Kulturträger* for uncivilized Russia. The situation changed dramatically in the late 1820s when Russian supervision became more intense and the constitutional liberties were restricted. In this atmosphere several conspiracies emerged within the Polish army and among students. The people who initiated the subsequent insurrection came from these circles. The so-called ‘Congress Kingdom’ eventually ceased to exist as an autonomous state after the failure of the November Rising (1830–1831).

Boże, coś Polskę... is now one of most popular church songs. It also has patriotic connotations. Nevertheless, the original text as written by Alojzy Feliński in 1816 (the first anniversary of the Congress Kingdom) coupled the request for the welfare and safety of Poland with the pro-tsarist words: ‘God bless our King.’ The text was inspired by the pan-European style of monarchic anthems. It encapsulates the political hopes of the elite of the ‘Congress Kingdom’: Tsar Alexander I was expected to reunite the Kingdom with the western *gubernias* of Russia (i.e. the former eastern part of the *Rzeczpospolita*). The words “Give to new Poland her ancient splendor/Make her live under him in happiness;/Let two friendly nations thrive forever/And let in his reign their blessings express,” could also be read as an appeal to restore the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (indeed, they were usually understood that way), but Feliński left open an alternative interpretation, namely that the ‘two nations’ could mean the Poles and the Russians. Thus the original version of the text was an attempt to ‘familiarize’ the new political situation and to appreciate the regained semi-independence.

After the promising beginnings of the Congress Kingdom, almost every political change brought about new variants of the text. Its pan-Slav connotation disappeared completely during the 1830–1831 uprising, when the words about the good king were replaced by the line: “God, please, restore the independence of our Motherland.” Feliński’s work was rewritten by K. W. Wójcicki; the last two stanzas were eliminated and two stanzas of another poem (by A. Gorecki) were included. Later on, the version with the words “God, give us back the free Motherland” was sung. During patriotic manifestations in Warsaw on the eve of the January Rising in 1861–1862, *Boże, coś*

Polskę received a religious character (it was accompanied by the melody of an old hymn to Virgin Mary). Later on, it was rewritten in Belarusian and Ukrainian as well as in Latvian—in these versions the original text was not only translated but also reinterpreted according to current political needs. Finally it became the basis of the so-called Silesian ‘national anthem’ (this time with the words “From the German yoke save us, O Lord”).

In 1918, as independence was achieved, a new version of the song emerged. During the inter-war period the ‘critical’ line ran as follows: “God bless our free Motherland.” After 1945 the earlier version returned, underlining the idea of the new Russian occupation of Poland. Since 1956 the authorities have tried to promote the ‘positive’ version of the text (with “God bless our free Motherland”). In the last years before 1989, as the Polish patriotic canon approved by the communist party moved seriously toward nationalism, *Boże, coś Polskę...* appeared even in the official textbooks.

MG

**Hymn on the anniversary of the proclamation
of the Kingdom of Poland
ordered to be sung by the Polish Army
by its Commander-in-Chief**

Lord, who through ages protected Poland,
Veiling her in power and glory's light,
And guarded her with the shield in Your hand
From all the mishaps threatening her outside:
To Your high altars we bring humble pleas,
Save our King, O Lord, we beg on our knees!

You that sustained her, touched by her distress,
When she fell fighting for the holiest aim,
Wishing the world to see her fearlessness,
Among misfortunes You enhanced her fame:
To Your high altars we bring humble pleas,
Save our King, O Lord, we beg on our knees!

You that revived her by new miracles,
And joined two brothers' lands by Your decrees,
Famed for mutual defeats in battles,

Under one scepter of angel of peace:
To Your high altars we bring humble pleas,
Save our King, O Lord, we beg on our knees!

Give to new Poland her ancient splendor,
Make her live under him in happiness;
Let two friendly nations thrive forever
And let for his reign their blessings express:
To Your high altars we bring humble pleas,
Save our King, O Lord, we beg on our knees!

Translated by Michael J. Mikoś in: *Polish literature from the Middle Ages to the end of the eighteenth century: A bilingual anthology*, selected and translated by Michael J. Mikoś (Warszawa: Constans, 1999), pp. 123–124.

RIGAS VELESTINLIS: NEW POLITICAL CONSTITUTION

Title: *Νέα Πολιτική Διοίκησις των κατοίκων της Ρούμελης, της Μικράς Ασίας, των Μεσογείων Νήσων και της Βλαχομογδανίας* (New political constitution of the inhabitants of Rumelia, Asia Minor, the Archipelago and the Danubian Principalities)

Originally published: Βιέννη (Vienna), Αδερφοί Μαρκίδη-Πούλιου, 1797

Language: Greek

The excerpts used are from: *Ρήγα Βελεστινλή, Άπαντα τα Σωζόμενα*, edited by Paschalis Kitromilidis (Athens: Βουλή των Ελλήνων, 2000), vol. 5, pp. 33–35, 73–74.

About the author

Rigas Velestinlis [1757, Velestino (Thessaly) –1798, Belgrade]: poet, translator and political activist. He received his schooling in the prosperous town of Zagora. In 1780, he left Thessaly to follow the customary itinerary of contemporary intellectuals: first to Constantinople (Istanbul) and then to the Danubian Principalities. There he worked as a secretary, first for the Brâncoveanu family, and then in 1786 for the newly-appointed prince of Wallachia, Nikolaos Mavrogenis (r. 1786–1790). During the Ottoman-Russian war, he supported Osman Pasha Pazvantoğlu, he even saved his life when the latter was persecuted by Mavrogenis. After the occupation of Bucharest by the Russians in 1788 and the decapitation of Mavrogenis, Rigas fled to Vienna where he entered the service of the Wallachian magnate Christodoulos Kirlianos. During this stay in Vienna, he published his first translations. However, in 1791 he returned to Bucharest where he was involved in various commercial activities and also served the Phanariot rulers there as secretary and interpreter. In 1796 he left once again for Vienna where he would publish the bulk of his work, including the ‘Map of Greece’ and the ‘New political constitution.’ As the boxes containing copies of these publications, which were supposed to reach his friend Antonios Koronios, were confiscated by the Austrian police, Rigas was arrested in 1798. After persistent efforts, especially through their ambassador Typaldos in Vienna, the Ottoman authorities managed to have him and his comrades handed over. They were supposed to bring them to Istanbul, but they executed them in Belgrade and threw their bodies in the Danube. An iconic figure of the Greek ‘national revival,’ Rigas was influenced by the radical revolutionary ideas of the Enlightenment. In particular, he adopted an anticlerical attitude that combined condemnation of the clergy’s subservient attitude towards the Ottomans with adoration for the pleasures of life. He strongly believed

in the potential of the human mind and consequently the need for the development of education. With this in mind, he translated into the vernacular compilations of scientific works, but also plays and novels. Rigas has been a crucial point of reference for different intellectual traditions. The fact that he is mentioned as a pioneering figure in such fundamental texts of Greek nationalist ideology as the parliamentary speech by **Ioannis Kolettis**, which introduced the concept of the 'Great Idea,' has led Greek nationalist historians, but also historians from other Balkan countries, to consider Rigas the initiator of the ideology of Pan-Hellenism. In the period 1839–1842, the tragedy *Rigas*, written by Ioannis Zambelios, the father of Spyridon (see **Constantinos Paparrigopoulos**, *The history of the Hellenic nation*), became the core of the newly established 25 March celebrations of the Greek War of Independence. During the same period, the Greek activist was recognized as the first martyr of the revolution. The republican-democratic tradition, moreover, has duly underlined the social character of Rigas' ideas. Thus, certain among the republican political associations, which became active during the interregnum period (1862–1864), carried his name. Later on, Giannis Kordatos, the first Greek Marxist historian, published two works on Rigas, *Ο Ρήγας και η Εποχή του* (Rigas and his era) in 1931 and *Ρήγας Φεραίος και η Βαλκανική Ομοσπονδία* (Rigas Feraios and the Balkan federation), where he took up the Balkan dimension of Rigas' vision. More recently, in 1968, after the split of the Greek Communist party, the anti-Stalinist faction (the Domestic Greek Communist Party) established a youth organization called *Rigas Feraios*. In 1998, on the 200th anniversary of Rigas' death, numerous related conferences were held. Two years later the Hellenic Parliament published five volumes with all his surviving works accompanied with authoritative introductions by several contemporary scholars.

Main works: Χάρτα της Ελλάδος εν η περιέχονται αι νήσοι αυτής και μέρος των εις την Ευρώπην και Μικράν Ασίαν πολυαρίθμων αποικιών αυτής [Map of Greece containing its islands and a part of its numerous colonies in Europe and Asia Minor] (1797); *Νέα Πολιτική Διοικήσις των κατοίκων της Ρούμελης, της Μικράς Ασίας, των Μεσογείων Νήσων και της Βλαχομπογδανίας* [New political constitution of the inhabitants of Rumelia, Asia Minor, the Archipelago and the Danubian Principalities] (1797); *Νέα Χάρτα της Βλαχίας* [New map of Wallachia] (1797); *Γενική Χάρτα της Μολδαβίας* [General map of Moldavia] (1797).

Context

The Küçük Kaynarca treaty between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (1774), among other things, guaranteed Russian protection over all Christian subjects of the Sultan. As a result, the Christian inhabitants of the Empire were offered new opportunities for economic development. The relations of Christian merchants with the Habsburg Empire were also enhanced. These had been established as early as the mid-eighteenth century, when Greeks, Vlachs, Slavs and Albanians from Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Eastern Rumelia had began moving to Vienna, Trieste, and Ragusa (Dubrovnik), where they founded commercial firms. Moreover, the appointment of Phana-

riot nobles as Ottoman governors of the autonomous Danubian Principalities created very favorable conditions for Greek-speaking Christians, both merchants and intellectuals.

The news of the French Revolution had considerable impact on the intellectual elites of the Ottoman Empire. Not surprisingly, the Revolution was perceived as a threat by Ottoman authorities and the Greek-Orthodox ecclesiastic hierarchy (see **Patriarch Anthimos**, *Paternal instruction*). Among Greek-speaking Orthodox literati, whether they sprang from Phanariot circles or from the diaspora of Western Europe, the revolutionary ideas incarnated the hope of liberation. Even Muslim notables like the Albanian Ali Pasha of Tepelen, who managed to achieve semi-autonomy from the Sublime Porte and turned his capital Jannina into the most vibrant intellectual and trade center of the southern Balkans, were favorably disposed to the new French regime.

Such was the intellectual and political atmosphere that Rigas encountered in Bucharest and in Vienna. There he soon elaborated on his own political theory, according to which, after being liberated, the populations of the Balkans would create a Republic where all ethnicities would participate equally. In 1797 he published a leaflet entitled 'New political constitution of the inhabitants of Rumelia, Asia Minor, the Archipelago and the Danubian Principalities' which included the 'Revolutionary proclamation of human rights and citizens' rights' and the 'War march.' Through these texts Rigas wished not merely to address an appeal for action to his compatriots, but also to provide them with administrative rules for the new state he envisaged. In fact, his Constitution was basically a translation into the Greek vernacular of the French Constitution of 24th June 1793. In certain parts, however, he also added his own articles, thereby reinforcing its democratic character. Most of the copies of this first publication were seized and destroyed. It was due to this pamphlet that Rigas was delivered to the Ottoman authorities to meet a tragic death together with his comrades.

Being inspired by the French Revolution, however, Rigas did not perceive the diverse ethnicities as 'nations.' Undoubtedly, he considered all Christians (*Christiani*; referring, basically to the Orthodox) of the Ottoman Empire as Hellenes. However, while he used the term Hellenes (*Ellines*) in its ancient meaning, at the same time he identified it with the term 'Greek Orthodox' (*Romei*). Rigas seemed to believe that all Christians in the Ottoman Empire were somehow descendants of the ancient Hellenes and consequently deserved to live in a free republic like their ancestors. On the other hand, he thought it logical that the Greeks (*Greki*) would have a leading role in the

new era, not only because he was of Greek origin himself, but also because the heritage of civil rights, as proclaimed by the Enlightenment, had its origin in ancient Greece. One can safely assume that he took for granted the cultural hegemony that the Greeks enjoyed all over Southeast Europe and projected the same state of affairs into the future. However, he certainly never intended to propagate anything like the *Great Idea*—that is, the incorporation of all unredeemed Greek populations into a homogenous Greek nation-state—a concept developed much later.

The confusion over the terms Hellene/Greek/Christian (*Ellinas-Grekos-Christianos*) was central to many texts of this period (compare **Dimitrios Katartzis**, *Advice to the youth*) and was mirrored in the different views regarding the borders attributed to the geographical area called Greece. Rigas championed a multinational state based on democratic principles. His vision, however, cannot be considered as a federalist one. In his view, the Balkans were a single entity—a concept dating back to the Byzantine Empire—where people had always lived together in peace. In this scheme he also included the Muslims, and it is important to stress that this was the only collective entity he recognized other than that of the Christians, since he saw them both as suffering equally under the tyranny of the Ottoman Sultan. However, the fact that he calls them to take their oath on the cross, assuming that opposition to tyranny was enough to identify Muslims with the Christian population, reveals both his disregard for the ethnic definition of the nation and also the utopian character of his ideas.

In his 'Revolutionary proclamation' and the 'War March' translated here, Rigas called for the liberation of the Balkans and Asia Minor from the Ottoman 'tyranny.' Liberation, though, would come about only when the enslaved people would unite their forces. For the first time in the Greek context we come across an appeal not to the Great Powers, but to the 'creative power' of the people. However, his appeal was not addressed only to the Christian and Muslim populations, but also to the Muslim semi-autonomous governors, such as Osman Pasha Pazvantoğlu, in Vidin (present-day Bulgaria).

Both texts were used by the activists of the *Philiki Etairia*, the secret revolutionary organization that contributed to the preparation of the Greek War of Independence. Already in 1798, in his 'Fraternal instruction,' **Adamantios Korais**, the most prominent advocate of a secular cultural regeneration, condemned the Austrian authorities for delivering Rigas to the Ottomans. In 1803 the same author made a special reference to Rigas and his heroic death in his *Mémoire*. Thus, not surprisingly, in popular engravings of the revolutionary period we come across Rigas and Korais holding by the hands a

wounded woman in chains—the most common representation of Greece—and helping her to her feet. The anonymous author of the *Ἑλληνική Νομαρχία* (Hellenic Republic), a text published in Amsterdam in 1807, which reproduced many of Rigas' political principles but also offered thorough accounts of the contemporary society, dedicates his work to Rigas and devotes many of its pages to his contribution. Finally, during the Greek War of Independence, the Constitutions voted for by the national assemblies both in Epidavros and in Trizina (1822, 1827) were very much influenced by Rigas' constitutional principles.

VK

**New political constitution of the inhabitants of Rumelia,
Asia Minor, the Archipelago
and the Danubian Principalities**

War march, namely patriotic hymn, first in the call: A great command

Until when, O brave ones, must we live in the narrow passes,
Alone, like lions, upon the mountain ridges?
Living in caves, seeing before us only trees,
Fleeing from the world because of bitter slavery?
Losing brothers, homeland and parents,
Our friends, our children and all our kin?
Better a single hour of a life that is free,
Than forty years of slavery and prison!
What is the good of living, if one is a slave?
Imagine it as being roasted each hour in the fire.
You may become a vizier, a dragoman¹, a prince,
The tyrant will still unjustly cause your downfall;
You work all day doing whatever he tells you,
And all he seeks is to drink your blood.
Soutzos, Mourouzis, Petrakis, Skanavis,

¹ The office of translator (*Tur.* tercüman) which gradually provided its holder with an authority similar to that of a Foreign Minister. This office was occupied since the second half of the eighteenth-century by members of the Greek-Orthodox Phanariot families.

Ghikas, Mavroyenis², may serve you as a mirror.
 Brave captains, priests, and laymen,
 Even agas, had their throats slit.
 And countless others, Turks and Greeks,
 Lose their lives and their fortune for no reason.
 All of you, come today with the same ardour,
 Receive the sermon on the Cross,
 That a Council of men, capable and patriotic,
 Be charged by us to govern us,
 That the law be the first and only guide
 And that one sole man be the leader of the Fatherland
 Because anarchy is equivalent to slavery,
 To live like a savage beast is to throw oneself into raging flames.
 Therefore, with our hands raised to the sky,
 Let us address, from the depths of our heart, this invocation to God.

For Law and Motherland

Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood

The people descended from the Hellenes inhabiting Rumelia, Asia Minor, the Mediterranean islands, Wallachia and Moldavia, and all those who groan under the unbearable tyranny of the detestable Ottoman despotism, or who hastened to flee to foreign kingdoms so as to escape from its overwhelming and heavy yoke, all of you, I say, Christians and Turks, without any distinction of religion (as you are all creatures of God and children of the first man), who think that the tyrant called the Sultan, having utterly succumbed to his filthy, woman-obsessed appetites, surrounding himself with eunuchs and blood-thirsty, illiterate courtiers, has forgotten and despised humanity, and has hardened his heart against innocence, and that the most beautiful kingdom of the world, which is praised on all sides by the wise, has fallen into a detestable anarchy, to such a degree that no one, regardless of class or relig-

² Phanariots executed by the Ottoman authorities: Konstantinos Soutsos and Georgios Mourouzis were Grand Dragomans of the Sublime Porte, Petrakis was a banker, Dimitrios Skanavis was a representative of the community of Chios at the Sublime Porte (*kapı kehaya*), Grigorios Ghikas was prince of Moldavia, and Nikolaos Mavrogenis was prince of Moldavia and Wallachia.

ion, can be assured either of his life, or of his honor, or of his property. The quietest, the most innocent, the most upright citizen is in danger of becoming, at any moment, a wretched sacrifice to the tyrant's imagination or to the savage deputies and unworthy magnates of the tyrant, or, finally (and this happens most frequently) to his most malevolent and ferocious imitators who delight in unpunished trespass, in the harshest inhumanity, and in murder without any examination, without any judgment. O Heaven, you are the impartial witness to these crimes! O Sun, you daily see such atrocious acts of insolence! O Earth, you are ceaselessly watered by the channels of innocent blood! Who has the voice to say the contrary? Who would be such a wild beast as to agree with such transgressions? Let him come forward here and he will gain as an opposing witness the whole of creation, which wordlessly groans at the unjust streams of innocent blood flowing here.

This, until now, unfortunate people, I say, seeing that all its sorrow and pain, its daily tears, its annihilation derive from the bad and most vile government, from the lack of good laws, has resolved, taking courage once again to gaze up at the sky, to bravely raise its burdened shoulders and, furiously arming itself with the weapons of revenge and desperation, to shout out loudly before the whole of the world, with a thunderous cry, the holy and immaculate rights, which are God-given, to live quietly upon the earth. Therefore, so that all the inhabitants may unanimously and continuously compare, with a watchful eye, the actions of the government of the rulers, with a view to social legislation, manfully throwing off the contemptible yoke of despotism and embracing the cherished freedom of their glorious forefathers; so that they never allow themselves to be trodden underfoot from now on as slaves of inhuman tyranny; so that each one has, like a bright mirror before his eyes, the foundations of his liberty, his security and his happiness; so that the judges may manifestly know what is their unavoidable duty towards the free citizens being judged; and so that the lawmakers and the leaders of the government may know the honest precept by which their profession must be regulated and aspire to the happiness of the citizens, the following public declaration of the cherished rights of man and the free inhabitant of the kingdom is shinningly proclaimed.

Translated by Mary Kitroeff

PATRIARCH ANTHIMOS: PATERNAL INSTRUCTION

Title: *Διδασκαλία Πατρική Συντεθεῖσα παρά τοῦ Μακαριωτάτου Πατριάρχου τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλήμ κυρ-᾽Ανθίμου εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν νῦν πρῶτον τυπωθεῖσα δι' ἰδίας δαπάνης τοῦ παναγίου τάφου* (Paternal instruction composed by his Beatitude Anthimos the Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem for the profit of the Orthodox Christians, printed now for the first time at the expense of the Holy Sepulchre)

Originally published: Κωνσταντινούπολις (Constantinople), Τυπογραφεῖον Ἰωάννη Πόγου, 1798

Language: Greek

The excerpts used are from Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos, *Πηγές τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ*, vol. 2, 1669–1821 (Thessaloniki: Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιον ᾽Θεσσαλονίκης, 1965), pp. 413–416.

About the author

Anthimos, Patriarch of Jerusalem [1717, Antiochia (present-day Antakya, Turkey) –1808, Jerusalem]: clergyman and scholar. When he was three years old, his father brought him to Jerusalem. There he received his education, first in a monastery and then in the Patriarchal school, under Iakovos of Patmos. He soon became famous for his erudition in languages. When his teacher Iakovos passed away, Anthimos succeeded him as the *σχολάρχης* (headmaster) of the school. At the same time, he was ordained priest and soon reached the rank of archimandrite. In 1774 he was appointed metropolitan of Skythopolis (Vethsan). In 1788 he was consecrated patriarch of Jerusalem and held the office until his death. Anthimos became well known as a fervent defender of Orthodoxy against Catholic proselytism, which at that time was very active in Palestine. It was then that he composed, first in Greek and then in Arabic, his 'Theological treatise' and 'Interpretation of the Psalms.' Having had them published in Vienna in 1791–92, he distributed thousands of copies of these works among the Arab Christians of the region. At the same time, he enjoyed friendly relations with Sultan Selim III (1789–1807), who supported him in consolidating Orthodox rights in the Holy Lands. Since high clergymen generally preferred to be close to the political center, Anthimos spent most of his time as a patriarch in Istanbul, where he gained the reputation of being hostile to novel ideas. Indicative of his firm attitude in religious matters is a passage from the *Ἀπάνθισμα τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως* (Extracts from the Christian faith), published for the Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox population of Anatolia. There it is mentioned that, due to his intervention, certain prayers were

printed only in Greek, since the incorporation of their version in Turkish, the language of the infidel, would be considered a blasphemy. He is considered an important figure of the Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition.

Main Works: *Σύνταγμα Θεολογίας – Al-Hidayat al-qawimah* [A theological treatise] (1791); *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς* [An interpretation of the Psalms] (1791); *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὴν Ἱεράν Ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου καὶ πανευφήμου Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου* [An interpretation of the Holy Revelation of the glorious and all-honorable Apostle Saint John Theologos, writer of the Gospel] (1856).

Context

The expansion of French revolutionary ideas all over Europe had an immense impact on populations living under foreign domination. In the Ottoman Empire, they were enthusiastically received by radical intellectuals who challenged both absolutist rule and obedience to religious authorities. Thus, the activity of figures such as **Rigas Velestinlis** and his comrades represented a danger both to the Ottoman rule and the Orthodox hierarchy. These ideas were depicted in a plethora of publications of the time. This production led both the Ottoman administration and the ecclesiastic authorities to take measures against radical ideas. Subversive literature in Greek was considered a threat to social stability and the need for counter-measures urgent. Thus, among other things, the Porte urged patriarchal authorities to reinforce their ideological control over their flock. As a result, Gregorios V, patriarch of Constantinople and a fervent opponent of the ‘foolish wisdom of Europe,’ was given the sultan’s permission to reactivate the patriarchal press with the purpose of countering this ‘atheist’ literature. In order to achieve his task, Gregorios V considered the publication of a series of texts either in the vernacular or in ancient Greek. At the same time, a censorship committee was set up in order to scrutinize and monitor the printing of Greek books not only in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but also anywhere inside or outside the boundaries of the Empire. Most probably the first publication to appear after this procedure was imposed was the *Χριστιανική Ἀπολογία* (Christian apology) (1798), an anonymous leaflet which went into numerous editions and was in fact written by Athanasios Parios, the principal for many years of the Academy of Chios and one of the most vigorous opponents of Western ideas.

In fact, until 1798 the Porte was unwilling to pursue an overt policy of persecution against French publications, since French-Turkish relations had traditionally been friendly. The disembarking of French troops in Egypt,

however, was a turning point, forcing the Ottomans to declare war against their former ally. Following this, both the Ottoman state and the Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities launched a war of propaganda against what they considered to be ‘libertine’ ideas.

It is against this background that the ‘Paternal instruction’ should be read. There has been some debate as to whether the ‘Paternal instruction’ was published before or after the Ottoman declaration of war. Chardon de Rochette insists that it was published at the beginning of 1798. But **Korais**’ anonymous response, entitled *’Αδερφική Διδασκαλία* (Fraternal instruction) was published in 1798, and there must have been some lapse of time before **Korais** could gain access to the text and prepare his reply. In other words, the ‘Paternal instruction’ must have been published before October 1798, when the expedition was launched. There is also some uncertainty regarding the authorship of the pamphlet. **Korais**, the most prominent advocate of secular cultural regeneration, refused to accept that such a subservient discourse could be attributed to Anthimos. Instead, he believed that it must have been written by some Turcophile, “a declared enemy of the Greek nation.” Certain scholars have even attributed the text to the patriarch Gregorios V himself, who allegedly used the name of Anthimos who was then close to death. Others, again, have suggested Athanasios Parios as the real author.

The text reviews relations between the human and divine spheres. The author’s interpretation of the world is theological. He argues that God punished the devil for disobeying His orders. However, this punishment did not apply to faithful Christians who knew that if they lived according to God’s will, they would be rewarded in the afterlife. In order, then, to alienate Christians from God, the devil decided to spread heresies derived from the West—like Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and so on. God, in his turn, in order to protect the Orthodox faith, raised the powerful empire of the Ottomans to replace the Roman Empire. At this point, the devil allegedly conceived of another artifice, namely, a system of liberties (*dikeiomata*)—in fact a trap, since it has nothing to do with real freedom (*eleftheria*). Against these wiles the author invokes the Scriptures, which call on Christians to subject themselves to earthly powers. Thus, all the faithful are urged to resist these ‘libertine’ ideas and be obedient to the Ottoman government, which, as the reflection of divine order on earth, grants the earthly conditions for spiritual salvation. The text thus constitutes a direct response to secular ideas about individual emancipation, which in the context of the Ottoman Empire led to claims for national emancipation, thus undermining both the obedience of the Greek Orthodox to their community leadership as

well as their subservience to the Sultan. Against a modern ideology, which heralds the emergence of a Greek nation in secular terms, the author of the text describes the community as a flock, whose real authority lies outside this world. Hence, terms like ‘despot’ or ‘ruler,’ which are used in reference to the Sultan, should be understood accordingly, as they do not bear the negative connotation of a ‘tyrant.’

The publication had a strong impact on intellectuals of the time. **Korais** devoted his response, the ‘Fraternal instruction,’ to a wholesale denouncement of the ideas expressed in it. Indicative of its instrumental character against revolutionary ideology is the fact that in 1822, immediately after the Greek uprising in the Danubian Principalities, a translation into Romanian was prepared. However, Greek nationalist historiography, having pointed out the significant role of the clergy in the War of Independence, has claimed that both this text and the excommunication promulgated by Gregorios V against the Greek uprising of 1821 (see **Alexandros Ypsilantis**, *Fight for faith and fatherland!*) did not represent the actual views of their authors but were the outcome of political manoeuvres. The fact that Gregorios V himself became a victim of the Ottoman reprisals is used in support of this argument. Marxist historiography, on the other hand, has used these texts in order to argue that, in reality, the high-ranking clergy was utterly hostile to any nationalist activity. Keeping clear from both approaches, Richard Clogg has studied the main themes of the text in order to trace the influence of Western secular ideas on contemporary Orthodox elites. The text can be read as an example of the ‘Counter-Enlightenment’ literature in the Balkans. Despite its deeply religious and conservative character, we should avoid looking at it through the eyes of the proponents of the Enlightenment, who described their opponents simply as backward-minded.

VK

**Paternal instruction composed by his Beatitude Anthimos
the Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem for the profit
of the Orthodox Christians, printed now for the first time
at the expense of the Holy Sepulchre**

To my readers: Anthimos, by the Grace of God, Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem and all Palestine.

[...] *Of the trials of God towards the faithful and the chosen*

From among the creatures of God who possess reason and freedom of the will only the devil and man have apostasized against God, and for this they have been condemned according to the incomprehensible and inscrutable justice of God. And the devil has been condemned for eternity to the underworld, because he sinned with pride and arrogance against the divine dignity of God and wished to set his own throne above the heavens and, imagining himself on high, was condemned to the underworld.

Man, however, was not condemned for eternity, because he was deceived by that very devil into imagining himself the equal of God, but was only ejected from the blessed life of paradise for a time, assigned in the present life to eat his bread with sweat, to meet with thorns and thistles, sorrows, misfortunes, tyrannies, sufferings, tears, sickness, persecutions, calumnies, and all such bitter and painful things. All these, however, are transitory.

[...] Since, however, this falling Lucifer, the devil, was envious of such great love of mankind on the part of God and, being by nature after his fall full of wickedness, he became a hater of men and he never again ceased inciting man, now towards one delusion, now towards another unseemliness.

[...] Secondly, when the evil one came to realize that, as a result of these torments and chastisements, not only did he not gain his ends but he caused many thousands of the faithful to be martyrs, he undertook another course of villainy. He sowed the tares of heresies in a treacherous and underhanded way, in order to cause the faithful Christians to break with their faith while yet appearing faithful to Christ, becoming the devil's own special followers, removing themselves from Christ.

[...] Thirdly, the devil raised from the West another newer heresy for the ruin of the pious, I mean the Latin heresy, different in name but similar to the foregoing heresies and leading to destruction. And with this he led astray all the West. This heresy gave birth afterwards to offshoots and different sects: Lutherans, Calvinists, Luthero-Calvinists, Evangelicals and others without number; this heresy engendered its own destruction, so that it might become clear that it was rotten and unstable, as born of an unsound mind.

However, beloved Christians, here again we should see and admire the boundless love of God towards us. See how clearly our Lord, boundless in mercy and all-wise, has undertaken to guard once more the unsullied Holy and Orthodox faith of us, the pious, and to save all mankind. He raised out of nothing this powerful empire of the Ottomans, in the place of our Roman [Byzantine] Empire which had begun, in a certain way, to cause to deviate from the beliefs of the Orthodox faith, and He raised up the empire of the Ottomans higher than any other kingdom so as to show without doubt that it

came about by divine will, and not by the power of man, and to assure all the faithful that in this way He deigned to bring about a great mystery, namely, salvation to his chosen people.

The all-mighty Lord, then, has placed over us this high kingdom, “for there is no power but of God,” so as to be to the people of the West a bridle, to us, the people of the East, a means of salvation. For this reason he puts into the heart of the Sultan of these Ottomans an inclination to keep free the religious beliefs of our Orthodox faith and, as a work of supererogation, to protect them, even to the point of occasionally chastising Christians who deviate from their faith, that they have always before their eyes the fear of God.

The Church of Christ has all the freedom that it has under Orthodox sovereigns of the same faith in the building of churches, as from generation to generation many splendid churches in different provinces and places have been built with the permission of the mighty Empire. And this imperial approval existed from the beginning, and continues up to the present. And let no one think that, because the building of many churches is sometimes hindered, freedom of Christian worship is thereby curtailed. For shame! This is the superstition of some, to consider the building of churches a great benefit.

[...] The arch-apostle, the devil, understanding then these trials of God, that He changes these trials for the faithful people from generation to generation, as a means of their salvation and to enable them to enjoy eternal and inexpressible blessedness, seeks to lead astray and once more to lead to destruction the abandoned chosen faithful. For this he has devised in the present century another artifice and pre-eminent deception, namely, the much vaunted system of liberty, which perhaps on the surface appears to be good, so as to deceive if possible the chosen people. It is, however, a trap of the devil and a destructive poison, to drive the people headlong into corruption and confusion.

[...] Brothers, do not be led astray from the path of salvation; but as you have always with bravery and steadfastness trampled underfoot the wiles of the devil, so now also close your ears and give no hearing to these newly appearing hopes of liberty “for now is salvation nearer to us.” And be very certain that their boastings and teachings, as we have been able to understand them, and from what we know in practice of the nations which have received them, that they are not only the direct contradiction of the written word of the Scriptures and the Holy Apostles, which enjoins us to subject ourselves to the superior powers, not only to those that are just but also to those that are perverse, that we may have tribulation in this world, and keep our minds pure for the Lord; they are, I say, not only the contradiction of the Holy Writ, but

they do not bring about any transitory good in the present life, as they guilefully promise, in order to lead you astray and to strip you of all riches in heaven and earth.

Where is the glorious and most attractive sight of the envy of all, beautiful Italy? Where now the inexhaustible treasure of the very ancient and serene republic of the Venetians? Everywhere this illusory system of the diabolical one has led to poverty, murder, damage, rapine, complete ungodliness, spiritual destruction and vain repentance.

The teachings of these new libertines, Christian brethren, are deceitful. And beware: guard steadfastly your ancestral faith and, as followers of Jesus Christ, resolutely give your obedience to the civil government, which grants you that which alone is necessary to the present life, and what is more valuable than anything, does not present any obstacle or damage to your spiritual salvation. "For what a man is profited, if he gain the whole world, and lose or forfeit his own self?"

[...] But let us analyze more scientifically the very name of this 'liberty,' to see if it can be reconciled with any civil government in which it abides order, morality, and safety for its citizens. Let us pass over, for the sake of brevity, monarchical and aristocratic government, as in these (as all admit) such liberty is not granted, and let us examine if, in truth, liberty is granted in a well-administered democratic form of government. When we say 'government' we must mean a group of men, by nature of different constitutions, who inhabit one and the same state, that is, the strong and the weak, the healthy and the sick, the wise and the ignorant. Can freedom, then, exist among them? True freedom is, A, that disposition of the rational soul which, by the grace of God, leads man to the good without, however, compelling him. Such liberty is called 'freedom of the will.' B, it is freedom for man to be able, unhindered, to put into practice the appetites of his desires, which is insubordination. C, it is called freedom for someone to live according to divine and human laws, that is, to live free of every reproach of conscience and free of civil discipline.

[...] The only praiseworthy liberty is the third noted above. This has no place in the system of the new freedom lovers. For how can they live without the reproach of conscience, those who themselves, having been led astray and having been reduced to a wretched condition, are already trying to deceive and to ruin others?

[...] And when we see with such clarity that this new system of liberty is none other than a confusion and overturning of good government, a path leading to destruction or, simply speaking, a new ambush of the evil devil to

lead astray the abandoned Orthodox Christians, are we not going to be judged worthy of all condemnation if we give the slightest hearing to these sly and deceptive teachings? Are we not going to be justly punished afterwards if, knowing most clearly the truth, we follow the guides of the false one against the commandments of God?

No, Christians! Let us have steadfastness and prudence, let us not lose the unfading crowns of eternal blessedness for a false and non-existent liberty in this present life. Let us not deprive ourselves of the inexpressible rewards. Let us not listen at all, in order to bring shame without consolation to the devil, and to enjoy those good things which God has prepared from time immemorial for those who love him.

Strengthen yourselves then, brethren, in the Lord and in the greatness of his strength, take on the panoply of God so that you can resist the machinations of the devil. Above all take on the emblem of faith, the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit, that is the command of God, that you rout every onslaught of the evil one, to be judged worthy of the heavenly kingdom, which may we all succeed in gaining through the love and charity of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom the glory, the honor, and the adoration for ever. Amen.

Translated by Richard Clogg, "The 'Dhidaskalia Patriki' (1798): an Orthodox Reaction to French Revolutionary Propaganda," in *Middle Eastern Studies* 5, 1969, pp. 87–115.

TOMO BASSEGLI: PATRIOTIC MUSINGS

Title: *Rêveries patriotiques* (Patriotic musings)

Originally published: written ca. 1798 in Dubrovnik, remained in manuscript until 1958

Language: French

Excerpts used are from *Plan de Réforme de la République de Raguse*, in Žarko Muljačić, *Tomo Basiljević-Baselji, pretstavnik prosvjećenja u Dubrovniku* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1958), pp. 89–90, 93; manuscript: Archive Bassegli, State Archive of Dubrovnik.

About the author

Tomo Bassegli (Baseljić) [1756, Dubrovnik (*It. Ragusa*) – 1806, Dubrovnik]: writer, political thinker and diplomat. He was born into an ancient aristocratic family in the Republic of Dubrovnik. Due to the mediation of the Italian enlightenment scholar Alberto Fortis, Bassegli was allowed to study law at Protestant universities, first in Bern in 1783 and then in Göttingen, where he became acquainted with a number of prominent scholars. Interested in economy and in the natural sciences, Bassegli became a member of the Physical Society in Lausanne and the Economic Society in Bern, later also the Economic Society in Split (*It. Spalato*) in Dalmatia. His travels through Italy, Germany, Bohemia and Austria included audiences with Frederick the Great and Joseph II, whom he admired as enlightened rulers. In Vienna, he was initiated into the Masonic circles gathered around the well-known naturalist Ignaz von Born. Having failed to win the position of the ambassador of Dubrovnik to Vienna, Bassegli returned to his hometown in 1792. In 1793 he participated in the establishment of the short-lived ‘Patriotic Society,’ the first private scientific society in the Republic. In the Senate Bassegli supported the ‘French party,’ which advocated alliance with France after the fall of Venice in 1797 in order to promote Dubrovnik’s trade with the Levant. In 1806 he was sent to meet with the French general Jacques de Lauriston, who was crossing the territory of Dubrovnik on his way to the Bay of Kotar (*Srb. Kotor, It. Cattaro*), but failed to prevent the occupation and eventually the dissolution of the Republic in 1808. Unable to publish any of his manuscripts, which most probably circulated in secret, Bassegli remained marginalized as a figure until the 1950s, when he was recognized as one of the most prominent representatives of the Enlightenment in Croatia.

Main works: *Plan de Réforme de la République de Raguse* (1790–1799); *Pensées sur la révolution actuelle de la France* (1792–1794); *Remarques sur les petites villes et sur les petits états* (late eighteenth century); *Esprit des lois de Lycurge et des mœurs des anciens Spartiates* (late eighteenth century).

Context

The Republic of Dubrovnik, metaphorically viewed as a “sanctuary of religion and freedom” on the Adriatic Sea, was governed throughout the eighteenth century by a hereditary aristocratic system. Besides, it was marked by a distinct Counter-Reformation culture, conditioned by the presence of the Ottoman hinterland. However, the oligarchic republican system was subject to factionalism, which resulted in the incapability of governmental bodies to implement any political or social reforms. The first crisis occurred in the 1760s, which, along with the enactment of minor reforms in the electoral system, prompted some members of the aristocracy to revise their concept of patriotism according to Enlightenment standards. Dubrovnik’s men of letters started to feel increasingly a sense of corporate identity with the international community of scholars, especially in the new cultural fields of the natural sciences and political economy. The new knowledge assigned a special priority to public utility, which presupposed its intimate relationship with political power. A foreign policy of diplomatic neutrality had enabled the Dubrovnik merchant fleet to take advantage of changing maritime conjunctures resulting from various wars since the 1750s. This, however, caused a polarity between the maritime and the physiocratic party among the aristocracy, as exclusive reliance on an insecure commercial policy endangered the subsistence of the landed aristocracy by drawing away too many peasants into maritime service. Besides, the clash of interests of the different great powers such as France, Russia and Austria along the Adriatic challenged Dubrovnik’s diplomatic neutrality and made the future of the small republic very uncertain if it relied only upon a policy of trade. In the 1790s the situation became even more critical because of the territorial expansion of the French Directory in Italy and the establishment of the ‘sister republics.’ The fall of the Republic of Venice in 1797 and the question of the status of its province of Dalmatia, whose territory was claimed by many sides, was presumably what prompted Bassegli and his Franco-ophile party to start devising different projects envisioning a future democratic Republic allied with France.

The French Revolution, with its civic nationalism as well as the Revolutionary Wars, contributed greatly to the constructing of utopian plans among the emerging national elites all over Europe, which sought to take advantage of the “unnatural state among the nations.” Political change manifested itself as well in the way of representation of the Illyrian ideologem, which was assuming more and more political connotations, and finally gave birth to ‘political Illyrianism,’ incarnated in different projects. Such a situation gave way to new conceptualizations, all making use of the malleable term “Illyrian” and differing principally in notions of spatial magnitude: in 1793 the Hungarian Jacobin Ignatius (Ignác) Martinovics proposed a plan for turning Hungary into a confederation whose provinces would be determined on a national basis and in which the vernaculars would be allowed as official languages. In Martinovics’ conception, “Illyria” was envisaged as comprising the territories inhabited by the Illyrian-speaking peoples, i.e. Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, as well as Syrmia. On the other hand, the Hungarian Serbs saw an opportunity to solve their ‘Eastern Question’ and to liberate the Serbs under the Ottomans. On the eve of and during the First Serbian Uprising in 1804, the concept of an ‘Illyrian Kingdom’ or Serbian state was coined, encompassing the newly-born Serbia, Dalmatia, the Bay of Kotar, Bosnia, Albania, and Bulgaria. Help was sought from almost all great powers as possible protectors, including France and above all Russia, which was regarded by the Serbs as congenial in terms of their Greek Orthodox faith and Slavic race.

In a similar vein, Bassegli envisioned an “Illyrian Republic” consisting of Croatia, Slavonia, Serbia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia including Dubrovnik, whose establishment would be helped primarily by the French. Although he worked on his project during the whole decade, it was only in 1803 that he decided to publish it, in anticipation of the coming of the French and their patronage. In terms of genre, his models were two published surveys of the French *départements*—the inner kernel of the French Empire having been divided into 130 departments. He followed their form in setting forth the state of the Republic of Dubrovnik in all areas, as well as the causes that had either slowed down or accelerated its progress in the past. In separate sections, of which some remained unfinished, Bassegli depicts the present state of the Republic including its legislation, criminal jurisprudence, agriculture, peasantry, public education, charity institutions, status as free port, city-state policy, navigation, commerce, manufactures and state finances, as well as the social relations between the aristocracy and the peasantry. He diagnoses the causes of national poverty, and in a section devoted to political meditations—written in the conventional form of *rêveries* (musings)—he proposes the establishment

of a new political entity based on a common language, origin and customs and historical territorial rights, the Illyrian Republic.

As a political spokesman Bassegli speaks from a comparative European perspective, seeking to position his imagined 'Illyrian Republic' within an existing international order dominated primarily by France, where the small Republic of Dubrovnik could not hope to survive without a considerable territorial extension. Speaking the language of enlightened republicanism, Bassegli considers the traits (*mœurs*, manners) of the Slavic national character as ideal for the 'Illyrian' polity: qualified as "poor," "frugal" and "severe" these manners would prompt the Slavs to develop a sense of stern civic virtue and patriotic devotion. By stressing the Slavic appropriateness to "virtue" and "uncorrupted manners," Bassegli adapts the language of civic humanism to the enlightened paradigm of manners. The enlightened episteme is also visible in the understanding of time. With his vision of the wealth of the Illyrian Republic Bassegli leaps into the future, using Dubrovnik's glorious past only to argue for the possibilities of development and progress; by evoking the sixteenth century as the 'Golden Age' of Dubrovnik when commerce and the arts flourished, Bassegli justifies the projects for the future. In his view, the social order should be changed as well: the aristocracy should not be hereditary, because its rule can easily fall into despotism, but rather elective, which is the best form of government. Entry to the nobility should be open both to the middle-class and to peasant families, and the requirements would be property, antiquity and personal merits. One of the central concepts in Bassegli's post-1789 discourse is "revolution," understood as the peaceful change of the existing political and religious state, in which he places his greatest hopes for establishing a new enlightened polity.

In the 1950s Marxist historiography viewed Bassegli as an ideologist of the bourgeois class as it struggled against feudalism, and simultaneously as a precursor of Romanticism. More recently, Bassegli's utopian political conceptions of imagining a South Slav nation-state have fallen into neglect in revisionist post-1991 Croatian historiography focusing on Croatian national integration and modernization.

TSB

Patriotic musings

States and borders [of the Illyrian Republic]

[The Republic would embrace] Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Serbia, and Dalmatia up to Antivari (Bar). To the northeast [she would border] with Rijeka and Carniola up to the Drava, following the latter up to its confluence with the Danube; the northern border [would go] up to Jabukovac; subsequently, the line would continue towards southeast through Niš and Priština to Kotar on the Adriatic coast.

The wealth of the [Illyrian] Republic

Serbia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia all together would form a not particularly rich state; but due to her national character, frugality and the severity of manners, this state would make a nation which would also have fewer desires and needs. In a nation which is not corrupt and has never been, the scarcity of great sources of wealth would preserve manners and a republic for a longer time. The more pronounced equality along with the liberty of the fatherland [which is] more sustained by virtues would teach the nation to know happiness other than wealth, and would give a fibre to the state much more vigorous and solid than that of gold. The means for increasing national riches would not be lacking.

Patriotism

It is very true that it would be possible to establish patriotism and the purest republicanism in the heart of the Slavs, which could be neither attained nor shattered by any force, [and] that despite all the oppressors they have always managed to uphold national virtues and patriotic zeal. The Dalmatian, though being drowsy under the most odious Venetian aristocracy, has never become a Venetian. The Croat, despite the oppression of the Austrian iron yoke, has never become a German. The Bosnian and the Serb, conquered by the Turk, have been so consistent in their character that their victors took over their manners, their usages and their language, which otherwise would have been overwhelmed by the Turkish. Unquestionable marks of a genius, of a character and exceptional manners have formed the features that cause this nation to remain always herself, and not some other, which inspires this patriotism grounded in habits which are impossible to eradicate.

This [most] precious germ [i. e. patriotism] of all social virtues exists still now in the whole nation. She owes to it her language and her circumstances, which isolate her and which prevented her from excessively mingling with her neighbors. She has preserved the national physiognomy, and much of the manners and virtues which are proper to her. They [i. e. the natives] have their separate habits, distinct garments, and many national features in everything, and thus many seeds for developing the most ardent love for the fatherland. It would be necessary only to cultivate these fortunate dispositions through wise institutions, and it would be easy to ennoble their souls and to turn them into very powerful instruments for consolidating national happiness.

[Relationship to France]

A regenerated, free, great and powerful France should adopt sincere, simple and generous manners. She is not worthy of the obscure and sly deviations of false politics. Misleading and enticing nouns such as liberty, equality and equity should not be desecrated by perfidious charlatanism in order to seduce ordinary people, to deprive them of their money, to oppress them, and finally to make them pay by being scorned for their pardonable credulity. They [i.e. the French] should declare themselves as sincere friends and allies of all free peoples willing to unite with her [i.e. France] through common interests and reciprocally useful commerce. The Illyrian Republic should be awarded with their true and loyal protection because her cause is linked with that of France, because her existence serves as a formidable obstacle against the despots from the North, because she is capable of preventing them from penetrating into Italy, and because she can secure French domination over the Adriatic. She [i.e. France] should not miss the opportunity, which destiny has offered her, to enlarge the number of her defenders, to create a formidable [defensive] line, which would preponderantly increase French influence over the most northern nations (who, indeed, will be a threat to the liberty of Europe for a long time). She should make this republic flourish, which would frighten the despots more than the fear of Italy, soon spread the dawn of liberty in Hungary, and extend the victorious arm of French liberty up to the banks of the Neva and the Vistula.

Advantages for France

If France takes over the commerce of the Indies from the English through Egypt, that is, if she reroutes the course from the Cape of Good Hope by making it flow through Alexandria like before, the Dalmatian ports will be of vital importance to her. Trieste, Rijeka, and Dubrovnik would be the channels through which French commerce with the Indies would flow to the Continent towards northern and southern Germany. The French flag would be favored on every shore of this sea, and the most flourishing and lucrative commerce would in short time compensate France for the care she would take in establishing a republic so useful to her.

Translated by Teodora Shek Brnardić

DORĐE PETROVIĆ (KARAĐORĐE): LETTER TO PETAR PETROVIĆ NJEKOŠ

Title: Karađorđe and the Governing Council to Petar I, Bishop of Montenegro
Originally published: First published in Dimitrije Milaković, *Istorija Crne Gore* (Zara: 1856), pp. 280–284, based on the original in ASANU (Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences), no. 7130/54
Language: ‘Slavo-Serbian,’ an artificial literary language of the eighteenth century, resulting from a fusion of Church Slavonic and the vernacular spoken by Serbian merchants in Vojvodina and in the Ottoman Empire
Published in the collection of sources from the First Uprising entitled *Prvi srpski ustanak – akta i pisma na srpskom jeziku*, vol. I. (1804–1808), ed. by Radoslav Perović (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1958), pp. 188–190.

About the author

Dorđe Petrović (Karađorđe) [1768, Viševac (near Rača Kragujevačka) – 1817, Radovanje (near Smederevska Palanka)]: supreme military commander of the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813). In 1788 he enrolled in the voluntary army (*Freikorps*) supported by the Austrians to fight against the Turks, but soon fled to escape the severe military discipline and joined the *haiduks* (anti-Turkish highwaymen). He was a merchant in the village of Topola, but got involved in the organization of a network of rebels throughout Šumadija, the region in the heart of today’s Serbia, then part of the Belgrade Pashalik. In 1804 he was acclaimed the supreme commander (*vrhovni vožd*) of the Serbian rebels. During the Uprising he became an icon of popular resistance to the Turks. His foreign policy was directed towards an alliance with Russia, after he had decided to stop negotiating with the Turks. After the suppression of the Uprising, he fled to Austria. In 1817 he returned as an agent of the Greek revolutionary organization *Philiki Etairia*, hoping to prepare yet another insurgency, but was killed shortly after on the orders of Miloš Obrenović, the vassal prince of Serbia established after Obrenović led the more successful Second Serbian Uprising in 1815. During Karađorđe’s rule the foundations of a modern state and modern institutions were laid: basic legislation and courts, the first constitutional act, a popularly elected governing council (*Praviteljstvujuščiji sovjet*), and vernacular schools. He is revered mainly as the founder of the Serbian (and later Yugoslavian) royal dynasty (Karađorđević).

Context

The First Serbian Uprising, which began in 1804, did not have at its onset a 'national' character. Originally it broke out in resistance to Ottoman secessionists who were terrorizing the local population. Consequently, at the beginning, the participants claimed to support the central authority against the *dahiye*, local Ottoman authorities who usurped the central power and ruled over the Christian population. Gradually, however, the socially driven movement of a few thousand rebels turned into a struggle which later historiography came to celebrate as laying the foundations of independent national statehood. Indeed, in his programmatic letter to Petar I Petrović, bishop of Montenegro, in May 1806, Karađorđe pointed out their cultural, historical and political closeness and asked the prince-bishop to strengthen their connections in the face of a mutual enemy. The letter was widely interpreted by generations of historians as evidence of a significant turn in Serbian policy, marking the moment when the national aspect of the uprising first became public.

The first seeds of modern national consciousness among the Serbs can be traced back to Serbian cultural developments in Austria in the eighteenth century. Serbs were living mostly in the south-eastern border regions of the Habsburg Empire, most prominently in southern Hungary, where they had settled at the end of the seventeenth century after these territories were recovered from the Ottomans but the Habsburgs failed to expand further south. In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the region, known as Vojvodina, enjoyed a certain degree of administrative separation from Hungary. Throughout the eighteenth century this province was a lively commercial and cultural center of the Serbian diaspora and an important transmitter of new knowledge and ideas to the Serbian communities to the south. Among influential persons whose ideas about the secularization of literature and affirming the Serbian 'national community' were spreading from the north were Gavriilo Stefanović Venclović (c. 1680–1749), Lukijan Mušicki (1777–1837), and Sava Mrkalj (1783–1833). There were others again who cherished notions about the restitution of Serbian self-rule, and some of them even framed these ideas into politico-cultural projects. In 1794–1795 the archimandrite Jovan Rajić (1726–1801) published in Vienna his four-volume 'History of the different Slavonic nations, especially the Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs.' Characteristically for the scholarship of the time, the author treated the histories of the 'nations' in question as a single "South-Slav history." It is for this reason that Rajić's work has been generally appreciated as the first

attempt at a scientific history and a major contribution to the 'historicist revival' not just of the Serbs but of the South Slavs in general.

Significantly, in these cases, including Rajić's opus, Serbia was not considered an independent political entity. This lack of an articulated 'national' program characterizes the period of the First Uprising. Against this background, Karađorđe's letter to the Montenegrin ruler Petar I Petrović can be considered the first concrete document bearing witness to the articulation of the program of national liberation and unification of 'all the Serbian lands' under the protection of Russia. The initial victories of the rebels, first at Ivankovac in 1805 and then at Mišar in 1806, had given momentum to the belief that the Ottomans could be defeated and the "resurrection of the Serbian state" (*vaskrs države srpske*) attained, an idea already voiced at the revolutionary assembly in Ostružnica during the first months of the Uprising and then fostered in the course of the war, aided by the international diplomatic situation.

In this letter Karađorđe and the governing council (*Praviteljstvujuščiji sovjet*) explain to the Montenegrin prince-bishop the situation in Serbia and ask him to side with the Serbs against the Turks. Although they repeatedly mention their hope that Sultan Selim will end the terror of the *dahiye*, they express their ardent wish to be united with, as they say, their Montenegrin, Dalmatian and Herzegovinian "brothers in faith, origin and blood." Wishing to be united "as their ancestors used to be," they were to establish a brotherhood in arms. The expected alliance of all the Serbs, whether they live in Serbia or in the other above-mentioned regions, is praised as a sacred, political and spiritual duty, and Petar I Petrović is invited to facilitate this "before all of Europe."

IE

Letter from Karađorđe and the Governing Council to Petar I, Bishop of Montenegro

Smederevo, 29 May 1806

From the Serbian supreme leader Đorđe Petrović and the Serbian Governing Council

To the worshipful prince and metropolitan of Montenegro and Russian knight, his grace Petar Petrović Njegoš, kind greetings and humble obeisance.

On 4 April we sent a reply to your most kind letter of 15 February, where we described in some detail all our intentions and wishes and did open our heart and soul to you in our plea for you to aid us with troops in the struggle against our foes. We have eagerly awaited a reply every day and have still not received one; you have either not received our letter or your attention has been preoccupied with other affairs, we know not which. Our situation does not allow us to wait any longer, thus we send you this letter by way of a special messenger so you would realize our position and what we desire of you as soon as possible.

Our bright Sultan Selim is merciful in all things, and we expect his edict any day now so that we may live as law-abiding, bright, happy and loyal subjects of the Sublime Porte, and that by governing all our affairs in our country we might give unto the emperor that which is the emperor's and guard our lands, which are the honor of the Sultan's empire, against any foreign assault or threat. We could have received this mercy from the emperor in peace, had we not put too much trust in Gušanac Alija, renegade from the empire, who is in Belgrade.¹ He has violated the peace treaties he made with us and has turned against us and stirred up almost all of spiteful and malicious Bosnia and Pazvančić pasha of Vidin² and some rebellious Albanians. After we crushed the rebellious Albanians in battle at Kuršumlja, we made peace with Pazvančić, who had been cut off from them and left alone, and we will also chase Gušanac Alija out of Belgrade soon with God's help. Today we are in the greatest of conflicts and most merciless of feuds with Bosnia, which could not be pacified, and which has at the bidding of Gušanac Alija and against the emperor's will and command risen wrathfully against us and has so far burnt, down, looted and enslaved many of our villages and districts and has inflicted too much damage on us with excessive force. [...]

This, in other words, faithless and villainous Bosnia has always nurtured in its bosom the chief and sworn enemies of the Serbian name and faith and is this very day working on extinguishing and annihilating the Serbian name and honor completely off the face of this world. We ask for your swift and urgent military aid against this—I assure you—sworn and eternal enemy of ours, for which we have been hoping from the very beginning!!! Pledging to you by that sacred alliance of faith, kin and blood, by which we call each other brethren and brethren we are, we call, with a flaming heart and with

¹ Gušanac Alija, the local commander, was one of the four *dahiyes* whose terror had provoked the anger of the Serbian leaders.

² Osman Pazvantoglu Pasha.

arms outstretched, upon you and with you upon all our brave, dear and beloved Montenegrin, Dalmatian and Herzegovinian brethren to honor the alliance which existed between our ancestors and forefathers, and form as it were an armed pact and a joint defensive and offensive alliance.

You shall join this alliance before God and men and that is a sacred mission, privilege and duty before all of Europe and according to God's civil and political law. According to the highest duty of a man and prince you shall bind to yourself tightly your kin and clan, whose gratitude can always be of great value to you, and by aiding us in our dire need and trouble against the renegades from the empire and allies of Gušanac Alija, who have poisoned the whole of Bosnia with a rebellious spirit and stirred them up against the faithful people, and thus against the emperor, you shall undoubtedly earn the right to due recognition on behalf of the Sublime Porte; and, above all, by giving us military aid, you will be doing that which the whole world says you did a long time ago! Not to mention what you will be doing for all of Serbian posterity by granting us this aid!

Translated by Krištof Bodrič

NAUM RÂMNICEANU: IMPORTANT TREATISE

Title: *Tratat important* (Important treatise)

Originally published: Published in *Biserica orthodoxă română* (1903) vol. XXII, no. 1

Language: Originally written in Greek

The excerpts used are from C. I. Gulian et al., eds., *Antologia gândirii românești, sec. XV–XIX* (Bucharest: Ed. Politică, 1967), vol. I, pp. 159–164.

About the author

Naum Râmnicéanu [1764, Corbi (Wallachia) – 1839, Cernica Monastery (Wallachia)]: clergyman, teacher and historian. His family came from Transylvania, where his father was an Orthodox priest. At an early age, he was sent to study in Bucharest. In 1776 Râmnicéanu became a disciple of Filaret, the archbishop of the metropolitan seat of Oltenia, and in 1784 he was accepted as a monk at Hurezi Monastery (Vâlcea County). During the Austrian-Turkish war of 1788 Râmnicéanu moved to Transylvania. There he worked as a professor of Greek at the Greek Catholic theological seminar in Blaj (*Hun.* Balázsfalva, *Ger.* Blasendorf). In 1795 he returned to Wallachia and worked for various bishoprics (especially the one at Râmnic, from where he derived his surname). In addition to his ecclesiastical activity, Râmnicéanu was a diligent teacher. He founded a school in Ploiești and taught there until 1821. He was also a passionate archivist and collected many important documents related to the history of the Romanians. In 1822 he became the abbot of the Church of the ‘Holy Apostles’ in Bucharest. In 1834 he withdrew to the Cernica monastery, near Bucharest, where he spent the rest of his life. Râmnicéanu was part of a broader reformist movement initiated by educated Romanian boyars at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some of his political ideas, such as the restoration of political power to the boyars, came to fruition after the revolt of Tudor Vladimirescu in 1821. Other conceptions, such as his ideas about the ‘Dacian’ origin of Romanians, had a lasting impact on Romanian discourse about national identity, as they were absorbed into the traditionalist vocabulary of the late nineteenth century, as exemplified by the works of **Mihai Eminescu** (1859–1889) and Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu (1838–1907).

Main works: *Semnele meșteșugului Psaltichiei* [The marks of the mastery of psalm-singing] (1788); *Poemation în versuri grecești despre originea românilor* [Poems in Greek verse on the origins of the Romanians] (originally written in Greek,

c. 1808, published in 1888); *Hronicul de la 1768–1810* [Chronicle from 1768 to 1810] (originally written in Greek, c. 1815, published in 1888); *Tratat important* [Important treatise] (c. 1822, remained in manuscript until 1903).

Context

In 1711 and 1714, respectively, Moldavia and Wallachia came under direct Ottoman rule. Until 1821, the Danubian Principalities were integrated into the Ottoman military and political orbit, and their independent foreign policy and diplomacy ceased. Another important characteristic of the new political regime was the fact that the elite appointed by the Porte to rule the countries were Greeks from the Phanar. The Phanariots were, however, not exclusively ‘foreign,’ as Romanian nationalist historiography later asserted; there also were Romanian Phanariots. As a matter of fact, until 1774 mostly Hellenized Romanians governed Moldavia and Wallachia; the Greek Phanariots began to predominate only in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The local boyars did not accept the Phanariot regime without resistance. There were many conflicts between the Phanariot hospodars and local boyars. Romanian historiography has tried to present these conflicts as part of a national resistance movement against foreign oppression, but the source of tension was political, not ethnic. These were frictions over political power, as the boyars felt that their influence was reduced to mere obedience to the Phanariot prince. As they lacked internal support, the Romanian boyars had to rely on external assistance. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Austria and, especially, Russia were in constant conflict with the Ottoman Empire, generating a series of wars and diplomatic arrangements. One such diplomatic arrangement, with significant impact on Moldavia and Wallachia, was the Peace of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), stipulating that Russia would gain access to the Black Sea coast and that Russian merchants could trade in the Ottoman Empire. Two clauses had particular importance for the non-Muslim populations of the Ottoman Empire: Russia could appoint consular agents inside Turkey, and she became protector of the Orthodox Christians, with special rights in Wallachia and Moldavia.

Encouraged by the favorable international context, the Romanian boyars formulated their own political agenda, which is illustrated by the political petitions they sent to the Russian and Austrian courts. One of their constant demands was that elected Romanian princes should replace the Phanariots. The restoration of their political power was the cornerstone of the boyars’ political agenda until 1821. However, there was no consensus with respect to

which was the most suitable form of government. One proposal, for instance, argued for an aristocratic republic led by twelve great boyars invested with broad legislative and judicial powers. Other plans, such as the program entitled *Unirea boierilor pământeni* (Union of native boyars), advocated a form of government headed by a prince with 'limited' powers.

Râmniceanu also belonged to the latter group of political reformers. He advocated the return to power of the local boyars whom he deemed the guardians of old Romanian traditions. During and after Vladimirescu's revolt in Wallachia (1821) he drafted several projects for state reform. The 'Important treatise' was one such example. The text contained a proposal and a draft for a new constitution. The system envisioned by Râmniceanu would have abolished feudal privileges, guaranteed the equality of the citizens and offered equal access to education. The 'enlightening' of the people was in fact a revival of the specific national values that had been obscured by the Phanariot rule. Râmniceanu was one of the strongest supporters of the idea of cultural revival. Moreover, he was a fervent opponent of 'Phanariotism,' which he believed was the cause of the decline of the national spirit. He did not intend to eliminate the authority of the ruling prince altogether; he just connected it to the 'law of the country,' or the will of the people. He also urged the creation of a national assembly that, together with the prince, should represent national interests. In order to safeguard the future of the nation, the boyars should be motivated by a spirit of patriotism and determined to protect the interests of the country, Râmniceanu concluded.

Râmniceanu's political reformism was coupled with his theories about Romanian national identity. His arguments about the origins of the Romanians were presented in the 'Important treatise' (1822) and 'On the origins of the Romanians'. Râmniceanu combined some of the arguments developed by the 'Transylvanian School'—which he became acquainted with during his exile in Transylvania—with conceptions about the past developed a century before in Moldavia and Wallachia by chroniclers like Grigore Ureche (1590?–1647), Miron Costin (1633–1691), Ion Neculce (1672–1745), and the 'philosopher-prince' Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723). These authors, fusing the local chronicle tradition with Western European humanist ideas (mediated by the Greeks in Wallachia and by the Poles in Moldavia), developed new historical symbols that connected the emerging discourse on national identity to the question of historical origins.

The Dacian origin of the Romanians was a popular assumption in Moldavia and Wallachia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and 'Dacia' became a generic name for all territories inhabited by the Romani-

ans. Romanian authors in Transylvania, however, would rarely mention the Dacians, as they started from the assumption that the Romanians were 'pure' Romans, and rejected the idea that Dacians could have mixed with Romans. Râmnicéanu opposed the theory of the 'pure' Latin origin of the Romanians as developed by the 'Transylvanian School.' He did not disregard the importance of Latinity for the Romanians, but he stressed that the Dacians had also played an important role in the ethno-genesis of the Romanians. He suggested that Romanians were descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, the Dacians, who adopted the Latin language and Roman civilization. He thus rejected the idea that the Dacians had been annihilated, suggesting that after the Dacians had learned the Roman language they mingled with the Romans. An ethnic synthesis was achieved: the Dacians were Romanized and the Romans were Dacianized. By asserting Dacian-Roman continuity, Râmnicéanu challenged the argument that there was no historical continuity between the territories of Transylvania and the Danubian Principalities. The Dacian-Roman ethno-genesis was supposed to include the Romanians living in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania.

Râmnicéanu's national project attempted to combine institutional and social reform based on the restoration to power of the local princes with the cultivation of ideas of historical origins and national consciousness. His ideas about the Dacians were revived by the nationalist discourse of the late nineteenth century, and he became an important point of reference for Romanian historiography searching for local 'resistance' to the Phanariot rule, as exemplified by the works of **Nicolae Iorga**.

MT

Important treatise

[...] The foreigner who envies the Romanian people is not satisfied to be spoiled for such a long time with our goods, but pushing us aside, he wants to disregard our ancient blessing, and has in mind to prove that the Romanians are not descendants of the Dacians, saying that the people of the Dacians were driven away intentionally by the conquering emperor to other foreign and distant lands, and instead of them, Romans coming from Italy settled on the land, populating the county of Romanăți, and that was why the county took on that name, because it was inhabited by the Romans. This story is true, but the evil-minded person does not go on with the story, but stops here, so that he can prove the end of the Dacians. But the truth is as

follows: Emperor Trajan, not wanting to expose the Roman Empire (and himself) to the same dangers that the brave and fighting people of the Dacians had experienced, who knew how to defend their liberty with arms, and were able to do so, spread as many people as he could in foreign lands, starting colonies of Romans in Romanai, as said, but most of the people managed to cross the mountains to the neighboring land of Transylvania, where Radu Vodă Negrul¹ gathered his people, the Dacians, in 1241, and left the country again, running down to the county of Muscel first, where they established the town of Câmpul Lung; the Ban of Craiova, who was the master over five counties across the Olt also placed his residence there, and they surrendered to him, and so they ruled until Radu Vodă came to the throne, and then his descendants, along the entire breadth of the country's land, from the mountains to the Danube; and from the time of Radu Vodă Negrul, the people's name also changed, so they were not called Dacians any longer, but Romanians; but the Dacians did not die out in this way, they united with the Romans that were in the country, and by uniting with them, they took on this new name. [...]

Although this nation of the Romanians had lain in ignorance and confusion after the spirit of the time; although they had been held tightly by a chain for long years under the tyranny of two equally oppressive nations, and moaned bitterly, and bent altogether so that they could not breathe, nor move or see farther; although in such merciless conditions, those who were foreign by their language thought that the nation of the Romanians was weak, deserted, powerless, and ignorant; a few Romanians [...] waited for the sun to rise and with its brightness light up the nations in the neighborhood, and the dwellers of the new world, and [they] felt that a wonderful time of awakening would soon come, which would shake the slumber that had overcome them [...].

Romanians! Bring an end to keeping your sons confined in your houses, while—instead of being grateful to you—they made you today look like the dirty corpses of their denigration, destroyed your household, robbed you of your wealth and left you poor, short even of your sacred belongings! Put an end to it! I know that in our beautiful town you established a much-praised school, which you furnished by the dowry of your women, and hope to harvest the crops of your toil. But is there any Romanian son in that school? None!

¹ Radu Negru Vodă is the mythical founder of Wallachia. According to the popular tradition, he was a Romanian chieftain from Făgăraș region who moved to Câmpulung around 1290.

There are only vixens and buffaloes, who—once they got enlightened—became conceited, and insane in their greed, and eventually they raised arms against your mother, against you and your sons! Look what happens when you promote sons of other nations! The Romanian youth, the boyars' sons, had their own teachers (or rather flatterers) in their homes, and those of lower social ranks contributed to raising the price of paper by writing pages and pages on how to learn to read and write in the dusty schools of our language.

Romanians! You have brothers born from your mothers, who serve the motherland, and when there is need of them, do not send them away. Do not let them rot and rust! Make them leaders, and help those worthy of it grow. Those that are less bright, you should not disappoint, but rather teach them. [...] Union must be tightly knit forever, for without it there can be nothing. Therefore, be united in one voice and stable for the benefit of the motherland, for you are the motherland!

Everyone praises the union, but not everyone accepts it indeed; some only pay it lip service. The human body is made of limbs, which help it do all that has to be done. If any of those organs should fail, even if that is a little finger, the entire body suffers, is upset, and immediately the other organs rush to assist the one that is faulty, thus proving how much union there is among the organs of the body, and how tight the connection is to serve each other and to suffer for each other. Similarly, a nation of people who share the same land is like a body made up of organs, which—if tightly united by sacred union to help each other, serve each other, being all one body, one soul, one thinking and one voice—can defend itself from any evil thinking and foreign attack, which watches with envious eyes to make things worse in the political field. History shows us how many nations, strengthened by this holy union, have defended themselves against all foreigners and have risen to great power and fame. [...]

The foreign enemies of our nation, apparently the saviors of the country, watching, sleeplessly keeping vigil, wanting to make use of the weak spirits of the boyars, gathered a crowd of the small people they knew to be lovers of empty fame and, mixing foreigners among them, sent them to the boyars, lifting them to high positions, which only bearded men can hold, because that is the sign of honesty and the highest levels, and which makes them surely be recognized as boyars. And after they multiplied the number of boyars, and included them all in the realm of useless fantasies, they impregnated them with the diabolic Phanariot spirit, and ceaselessly stirred them to riot, and to urge each other to fight, to wage war upon each other, to tell on each other, and crush each other. [...] These facts forced Tudor Vladimirescu, with the

much-praised enthusiasm of his motherland, to muster up the oppressed and impoverished sons of the motherland, and ask for justice to be done to his people. Neither the Godly, nor the secular laws can condemn a nation for asking that justice be done. The boyars' duty is to respect the laws and justice of the motherland; the Countrymen's duty is not to be the victims of the formers' pride, greed, and luxury. Boyars! Learn the truth once and for all: you cannot be boyars until you are patriots first! The boyars cannot make the motherland; the motherland makes the boyars! [...]

May the God of peace and unity be always with us, and in front of him, may we reiterate with fearful vow that the improvement of our land requires the following:

A) Just as, when climbing a ladder, the first step is to move away from the ground, so shall begin our improvement by moving away from the foreigners with whom we shall not have any business, either in earnest, or in secret, and likewise they shall be parted from us forever, and [we shall] not let [them] in our nation's political, natural or earthly businesses, and [we shall] get rid of all their committees and advice; [but we could] let them in the country to do commerce and craft, which will be useful to the country, subject to the laws and customs of the land, or to [make] them pay dues to the treasury of the country from cultivating the land.

B) Only those people shall be named boyars who show more love and fairness, as due, to the countrymen, and do more work for the benefit of the country, and for reasons of descending from this and that, or for reasons of having ascended to a certain rank, the proud and the oppressor shall not be assisted in any way.

C) The way shall be open to all countrymen, of any walk of life, so that through study, hard work and decency they shall benefit the country, and gain from the people the due honor and respect for their status. By this all sons of the country shall be encouraged to enhance their study and aim to hold public positions, being reassured that they would be rewarded for their efforts, as happens with other enlightened nations of Europe, so that they shall not be overlooked, removed or crushed under the feet of the old boyars.

D) The courts of justice should be generous to the honest and faithful countrymen, who love justice and work hard for the benefit of the people, who show parently love to their subjects, and their subjects are again responsible for showing them subjection, honesty and faithfulness.

E) Hard work should be done to establish schools with the teachers that are necessary, so that the people shall be enlightened.

F) From each county, two deputies should be sent to the court, who—like emissaries of their compatriots—shall be present in all the people's meetings, and have a say in issues that regard their county.

G) With an examination of the opinions of all Romanians, the laws of the country should be based on the above six points, to which others shall be added if they be considered useful to the country. That law shall forever be held the supreme authority in the country, and to it the entire Romanian population, regardless of differences, shall show complete subjection, including the ruling powers, those whom God Almighty may give us. And those who break the law, regardless of their status, shall be punished and prosecuted by all the Romanian people.

Come brethren and enforce this good organization of the motherland by our union, and build a stable tower with our enthusiasm for the good of the people. Let us be one soul, [have] the same thinking, and be one voice for the entire people. Let us all be connected forever by signing this letter, in the name of the holy and life-giving cross. And he who is proved of having thought only of his own good, moving away from helping the people, or he who benefits from the damage of the people, or sees any harm, no matter how small, inflicted on the people, and fails to point it out and does not unite his voice with the calling of others—if there is such a person—he should be considered a law-breaker and not a patriot and should not enjoy the benefits enjoyed by a true patriot, and shall be punished by the rightful judgement of his oath.

Translated by Mária Kovács

MUSTAFA REŞİD PAŞA: THE GÜLHANE EDICT

Title: *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* (The *Gülhane* Edict)

Originally published: issued 3 November 1839.

Language: Ottoman Turkish

Selections from the English translation of the *Gülhane* Edict are adapted and revised by Ahmet Ersoy (with reference to the original documents in Ottoman Turkish), based on the text provided by J. C. Hurewitz in *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record: 1535–1914* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1956). The complete latinized transcription of the Turkish text can be found in the volume edited by Mehmet Ö. Alkan, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*, vol. I: *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet’in Birikimi* (Istanbul: İletişim Press, 2001).

About the author

Mustafa Reşid Paşa [1800, Istanbul – 1858, Istanbul]: Ottoman bureaucrat. Reşid Paşa initiated his official career in 1824 as a scribe to important military and diplomatic officials. In the early 1830s he played an important role in the negotiation process with İbrahim Paşa (son and general of the insurgent Egyptian governor Muhammad Ali) whose troops invaded the Levant and advanced into Anatolia. After serving as ambassador to Paris (1835) and London (1836–37), Mustafa Reşid Paşa became Minister of Foreign Affairs. As the leader of the pro-British faction among the Ottoman bureaucratic elite, he played a major role in the institution of the Anglo-Ottoman trade agreement (1838), the first among a series of contracts that opened wide the doors of the Ottoman Empire to the flow of European goods. During the last years of the ardent reformer Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839), Reşid Paşa authored a series of reports and memoranda proposing possible alternatives and revisions in the implementation of the centralizing reforms. With the accession of Abdülmecid (1839), a much less authoritarian ruling figure, Mustafa Reşid Paşa played a significant role in the shifting of the center of power from the palace (the sultan) to the Porte (the bureaucracy). At a time of alarming crisis with Egypt, when the state was desperately in need of European support, the reform-oriented Ottoman bureaucrats led by Reşid Paşa found the opportune moment to promulgate the *Gülhane* Edict (1839), inaugurating the period of intense reforms known collectively as the *Tanzimat*. In 1846, Reşid Paşa was appointed as the Grand Vizier. During his first term in the Grand Vizierate (1846–52), Reşid Paşa worked intensively on the imple-

mentation of the centralizing and westernizing reforms. He initiated a series of far-reaching innovations in the realm of administration, education and trade, such as the establishment of a standard elementary school system, the institution of the *Encümen-i Daniş* (a consultative scientific council modeled on the French Academy of Sciences), and the official abolition of slavery. During his lengthy career Mustafa Reşid Paşa served many times as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Grand Vizier (most of the time alternating between the two in short intervals). In 1853, as Foreign Minister, he convinced Great Britain and France to join the Ottoman Empire against Russia in the Crimean War (1853–56). The seasoned statesman died in 1858, while serving for the sixth time as the Grand Vizier. Reşid Paşa was a highly influential figure not only in the conception and implementation of the *Tanzimat* reforms, but in fostering the bureaucratic cadres that shaped the future of the modernizing agenda.

Context

The Imperial Edict of the *Gülhane* was promulgated in November 1839 and read by Mustafa Reşid Paşa beneath the walls of the Topkapı Palace, in a square called the Rose Garden (hence the name *Gülhane*), to an audience of Ottoman dignitaries and foreign diplomats. The text was published in the official Ottoman gazette and copies were sent to all provinces to be publicly announced by the local officials. Although the edict was issued in the name of the recently enthroned sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861), it was in fact drafted by Mustafa Reşid Paşa, who served at the time as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The edict was a formal manifestation of the state's commitment to creating a more secularized and egalitarian political entity based on European concepts of administration. As such it initiated a period of intense modernizing reforms known in Turkish historiography as the *Tanzimat* era (beginning in 1839 and ending in 1876, with the inauguration of the first and short-lived Ottoman constitution). Coordinated by the bureaucratic elite, the extensive measures of the *Tanzimat* were destined to regulate and restructure all levels of social and political life; these ranged from the reformulation of the legal and administrative structure along more secular European models, to the re-organization of the entire educational system.

The *Gülhane* Edict was declared during a time of severe military and diplomatic crisis for the Ottoman state. As the forces of the governor (and *de facto* ruler) of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Paşa, gained control over Syria and the Levant, and advanced into Central Anatolia, the Ottoman government was in desperate need to gain European support in order to avoid a major catastrophe that seemed more imminent than ever. In fact, the *Gülhane* Edict did work as an effective diplomatic tool. With its promise of equal rights for Christian subjects, the document was greeted favorably by the European

powers, through the influence of which Muhammad Ali's forces were eventually made to withdraw to Egypt. But it would be a mistake to consider the Edict, in Eurocentric terms, as solely a compulsory diplomatic manoeuvre indexed to European expectations and demands. The real occasion for the entire *Tanzimat* endeavor was provided by the radical attempts of the previous sultan Mahmud II to centralize the state along European models. For some time, the ideas that went into the making of the *Gülhane* Edict had been circulating among certain members of the modernizing Ottoman bureaucracy who were well-versed in European ideas and political concepts. The Egyptian crisis simply provided Reşid Paşa with the opportunity to assume a leading role in implementing the reforms on a wider scale and with broader consent. And henceforth (until the reign of Abdülhamid II), the center of power in the Ottoman political arena was to be occupied not by the sultan but by the reform-minded bureaucratic elite, the men of the *Tanzimat*.

In its format and wording, the *Gülhane* Edict deftly negotiated between tradition and revolution. In harking back to a period of wealth and glory, and in its search for practical measures to gain back the lost power of the Ottoman state, the Edict can be linked with a well-established decline/reform discourse that occupied Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals for more than two centuries prior to the advent of the *Tanzimat*. Various derivatives from the root of the word *Tanzimat* (*nizam*: to order, regulate) had been used by the Ottomans in order to denote the sultanic laws and practical regulations that lay beyond the boundaries of the *shari'a* (Islamic law), but were technically in conformity with it. Throughout the *Gülhane* Edict, the marked emphasis on the new regulations' correctness *vis-à-vis* Islamic law reveals Reşid Paşa's concern for grounding the *Tanzimat* in a traditional base and for legitimizing the new order in the eyes of the Muslim public and the *ulema* (religious elite). The *Gülhane* Edict's careful reconciliation of the old and new signals the dualism of the whole *Tanzimat* era where radically new westernized institutions coexisted with traditional ones. Still, in spite of the Edict's formal traditionalism, its revolutionary impact on the Ottoman polity is anticipated in the document itself, where it is boldly acknowledged that the outlined reforms entailed a "complete alteration and renewal" of the ancient political order.

The *Gülhane* Edict underscores three broad issues as the primary objectives of the *Tanzimat* process. The first two involve reform and regularization in the systems of taxation and military conscription—concerns that can be traced back to the centralizing policies of Mahmud II. Throughout the *Tanzimat*, however, the implementation of reforms in these fields was to remain

slow and piecemeal. The most significant objective outlined in the Edict was the third one, which implied a novel and more liberal conception of Ottoman state and society. Here, vouching for the life, honor, and property of all imperial subjects, the sultan, as the official author of the Edict, pledged allegiance to the principle of equality before the law. The *Gülhane* Edict was not a charter or a constitutional document in that it provided no sanctions that enforced formal limits on the sultan's authority (except his solemn vow to obey the laws instituted by the legal councils of the *Tanzimat*). Still, the Edict was a major step in terms of the acknowledgement of the individual rights of Ottoman subjects by imperial authority (the most important beneficiary in this sense being the emergent bureaucratic class who sought to escape their vulnerable status as slaves of the sultan). On the whole, this was a radical departure from traditional practices and the dictates of the *shari'a*, since the principle of equality denoted a more secular conception of state whereby non-Muslim subjects were entitled to enjoy equal rights with the Muslims. The *Gülhane* Edict represents a turning point in the formulation of a secular and broader sense of Ottoman identity (in contrast to the previous association of the term "Ottoman" with ruling class membership). The new concept of "Ottomanism" launched by the *Tanzimat* was founded upon the basic premise of collective political allegiance to the state and the sultan. Accordingly, the novel agenda of the reformers was articulated in the Edict with recourse to certain key concepts, such as *vatan* (fatherland—formerly one's place of birth) or *millet* (nation—also used to denote an ethno-religious community within the empire). Although retaining a certain vagueness and inconsistency in their use, these were critical terms that were invested with entirely new meanings in the context of the *Tanzimat*.

The modernizing cadres of the *Tanzimat* faced the difficult task of crafting a complex reform agenda that responded, at once, to the exigencies of the Ottoman system, to the ideological challenges of the age of nationalism and to the pressure exerted by European powers demanding legal and economic rights for non-Muslim Ottomans. One should also add that the profound transformations envisioned by the missionaries of reform had to be carried out without any support from the Ottoman public at large. Moreover, the traditional sources of dynastic and religious legitimacy remained largely inadequate for reinforcing the new regime's novel and increased demands from the diverse strata of Ottoman society. Thus, similar to other 'old-fashioned' empires in nineteenth century Europe, the *Tanzimat* regime generated its peculiar form of 'dynastic nationalism' as a novel basis of political commitment and social cohesion. With the hope of creating a supra-national whole out of

the multi-ethnic and multi-religious substance of the empire, the Ottoman reformers strove to reconcile revised notions of dynastic allegiance with a collective and secular sense of 'Ottoman nationhood.'

The basic premises of the *Gülhane* Edict had an immense impact on Ottoman political and cultural life. The immediate effects were numerous, among which one should note the introduction of a secular penal code (recognizing the equality of Muslims and non-Muslims), the establishment of a new system of consultative assemblies and provincial councils (both of which included non-Muslim representatives), and the abolition of the *cizye* tax on all non-Muslim subjects (although this was replaced by a tax for military exemption). The terms of belonging to a common Ottoman nationality were negotiated till the demise of the empire. A second imperial statement, the Reform Edict (*Islahat Fermanı*), was issued in 1856 (with overt European pressure) that reaffirmed and further specified the rights given to non-Muslim subjects, this time accompanied by vocal reactions from various segments of the Muslim population. For most Muslims, the promotion of non-Muslims to equal status was a fact that was very hard to reckon with. Hence, the ideal of equality proved to be very difficult in its implementation. Nevertheless, throughout the *Tanzimat* era non-Muslim officials found a chance to proliferate in certain branches of the Ottoman state apparatus (especially the foreign service).

The *Gülhane* Edict was a document that set the tone for an Ottoman politics of identity throughout the final century of the empire. Remaining a largely unaccomplished dream, the *Tanzimat* ideal of common Ottoman citizenship (transcending ethno-religious barriers), nevertheless, comprised the very core of the constitutions of 1876 and 1908. And, although Kemalist nationalism was extremely rigorous in distancing itself from the entire Ottoman past, the *Gülhane* Edict was cherished in Republican historiography as a giant step towards complete political and cultural modernization.

AE

The *Gülhane* Edict

It is known, far and wide, that from the emergence of the Ottoman dynasty, the glorious precepts of the Quran and the exalted laws of the *shari'a* were thoroughly honored. Hence the sublime Ottoman state increased in might and glory, and all its subjects, without exception, rose to the highest degree of comfort and prosperity. In the last one hundred and fifty years, a

series of mishaps and myriad causes brought about a disregard for the sacred *shari'a* laws and the beneficent regulations [of the sultans], and hence the former power and prosperity turned into weakness and poverty. It is an unsailable fact that states not ruled by the laws of the *shari'a* have no chance to prevail.

Such deliberations are ever present in our mind. Ever since the day of our advent to the throne, our mind has been ceaselessly engaged in thoughts on the welfare and the satisfaction of the [subject] peoples, and on the improvement of the conditions of the provinces. Considering the geographical position of the Ottoman provinces, the fertility of the soil, and the aptitude and intelligence of the inhabitants of the empire, the conviction should remain that by striving to find efficacious means, the result can be attained, with the help of God, within a few years. Full of confidence, therefore, in the help and beneficence of the Almighty and in the support of our Prophet, we deem it appropriate to establish novel regulations in order to provide our sublime state and our protected domains with the benefits of good administration.

The essential objectives of these necessary regulations comprise:

[1.] Guaranteeing [our subjects'] perfect security of life, the protection of their honor, respectability and property

[2.] The establishment of a regular system for assessing and levying taxes

[3.] The development of an equally regular system for the conscription, training and maintenance of troops.

Indeed, are not life, honor and respectability the most precious gifts bestowed on mankind? Even a person of mild disposition who has no inclination towards sedition cannot restrain from having recourse to violence, and thereby injuring the state and the country, if his life and honor are seriously imperiled. If, on the other hand, he enjoys perfect security, he will not depart from the ways of loyalty, and all his actions will contribute to the good of the state and the nation.

In the absence of security as to one's fortune, no one will feel any attachment to the state or to the nation. Neither will anyone interest himself in the progress of public good, being absorbed in a constant state of fear and agony. If, on the contrary, the subject feels confident that his property is fully secure, then, full of ardor in carrying out his affairs, he seeks to improve his well-being. In his heart, he feels a growing zeal for [the improvement of] his state and his nation, and a rising affection for his fatherland. [...]

And it is therefore necessary that henceforth each member of Ottoman society should be taxed for a quota of a fixed tax according to his fortune and means, and that it should be impossible that anything more could be extracted from him. The necessary expenditures for our land and sea forces as well as for other matters also shall be limited and set by the appropriate laws.

The military is also one of the most important matters. While it is a sacred duty of the people to provide soldiers for the defense of their fatherland, the system in force until now has not taken into account the actual population of each locality. Some localities have been burdened beyond their capacity, and others have provided fewer soldiers than they could, causing disorder as well as damage to agriculture and trade. Moreover, lifetime military terms cause a lack of energy in service and contribute to the depopulation of the country. Therefore, it is necessary to establish suitable procedures for taking soldiers from the localities when needed and to take them in rotation for terms of four or five years. In sum, until these laws and regulations have been introduced, it will not be possible to gain strength, prosperity, comfort and tranquillity. [...]

Hereafter, until the pleas of criminals are examined and adjudged publicly, in accordance with the laws of the *shari'a*, no one shall be executed, secretly or publicly. No one shall be allowed to attack the reputation and honor of another. Everyone shall be in complete freedom to possess and use his properties, without interference from anyone. If a person commits a crime, and his heirs are free of complicity in that crime, the latter shall not be deprived of their rights of inheritance. All the subjects of our illustrious sultanate, both Muslims and the members of the other *millets*, shall benefit from these royal concessions without exception. [...]

As for the other points, they must be settled with the assistance of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances¹ [...] which will convene, on certain days, in association with our ministers and official notables, in order to formulate the laws concerning the collection of taxes and the security of the life and property of the inhabitants. Each member participating in these assemblies shall be free to express all his ideas and assessments without any hesitation. [...]

As the main objective of these [new] laws is to revive the state, religion, country and the nation, we, in our royal status, solemnly agree and promise not to commit any act that is contrary thereto. [In testimony of our promise,]

¹ Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye. The first modern consultative government office, established in 1837 by Mustafa Reşid Paşa.

we shall make an oath in the name of God in the sacred Hall of the Mantle of the Prophet² in the presence of all the ministers and religious officials. Subsequently, the ministers and the men of religion shall be asked to repeat the oath. Thus, hereafter, those from among the ministers or the religious officials, or any other person whatsoever, who infringes these laws, shall undergo the punishment corresponding to his crime, regardless of his rank, position or influence.

The above dispositions constitute a complete alteration and renewal of the ancient customs. The imperial Edict shall, therefore, be publicized in Istanbul and everywhere in our empire. They shall be officially communicated to all the ambassadors of the friendly powers resident in Istanbul, so that they may witness the granting of these institutions, which, should it please God, shall last forever. May we be entrusted to the Almighty. May those who commit acts contrary to the present regulations be the object of Divine malediction, and be deprived forever of every kind of gratification. [...]

I proclaim that hereafter everyone, that is, all subjects constituting my empire – Muslim and non-Muslim – shall have complete freedom to enjoy their rights concerning their life, property, honor and respectability.

Adapted and revised by Ahmet Ersoy (with reference to the original documents in Ottoman Turkish), based on the text provided by J. C. Hurewitz in *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record: 1535–1914* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1956), pp. 112–113.

² A pavilion in the Privy Chamber complex of the Topkapı Palace that holds what is believed to have been the mantle of the prophet Muhammad.

IVAN FRANO JUKIĆ: WISHES AND PLEAS OF CHRISTIANS IN BOSNIA TO SULTAN ABDŪLMECID

Title: *Želje i molbe kršćana u Bosni i Hercegovini sultanu Abdul-Medžidu*
(Wishes and pleas of Christians in Bosnia to Sultan Abdŭlmecid)

Originally published: Appendix to the book *Zemljopis i povijestnica Bosne*,
Zagreb, Ljudevit Gaj, 1851

Language: Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (The author of the text refers to his language as the “Bosnian language”)

Excerpts used are from Ivan Frano Jukić, *Putopisi i istorisko-etnografski radovi* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1953), pp. 313–321.

About the author

Ivan Frano Jukić (Pen-name: Slavoljub Bošnjak) [1818, Banja Luka (Bosnia) – 1857, Vienna]: Franciscan friar and activist. Born to a craftsman’s family, Jukić was first sent to the Fojnica monastery and then to Zagreb where he completed his secondary education. He then continued his studies in the field of theology in Veszprém, Hungary. His experiences in Zagreb and Veszprém were to prove crucial in the formation of his personality. While in Zagreb, he came in contact with Croat nationalism and its proponents. He had ties with **Ljudevit Gaj**, leader of the Illyrian movement, and was under the influence of Croat Illyrians who regarded the South Slavs as descendants of the old Illyric people and espoused the idea of a South Slav cultural unity. He spent a few years traveling around Bosnia in order to get to know the country, its people, their habits and customs. His travels culminated in the publication of his travelogues for which he is best known. He also opened a ‘people’s reading place’ (*narodna učionica*). After he was appointed chaplain at Varcar Vakuf (Mrkonjić-Grad, in today’s western Bosnia), his activities expanded. In 1850 he succeeded in publishing the first issue of his journal *Bosanski prijatelj* (Bosnian friend), of which four issues were to appear. This was the first journal published in Bosnia. In 1850, Omer-Pasha Latas arrived in Bosnia to implement the *Tanzimat*, and, for a short time, he had a friendly relationship with Jukić. The following year, Jukić’s major work ‘Geography and History of Bosnia’ was published in Zagreb. In 1852, he was arrested for alleged fraud. It was, however, his pamphlet, ‘Wishes and pleas of Christians in Bosnia’ that historians consider the real reason for his arrest and exile. He was never allowed to return to Bosnia and died in 1857 in Vienna, shortly before his thirty-ninth birthday.

Main works: *Zemljopis i povijestnica Bosne* [Geography and history of Bosnia] (1851); *Putopisi i istorisko-etnografski radovi* [Travelogues and historical-ethnographic works] (posthumous collection, 1953).

Context

For the Ottoman Empire the nineteenth century was a century of reform and subsequent reaction. The impoverished province of Bosnia was no exception. The introduction of reforms from 'above' in the province had to face the challenge of ethnic and religious plurality. Its population in 1870 consisted of 49.8% Muslims, 36.4% Orthodox and 12.6% Catholics. Reforms were first introduced in the military since it was here that the short-comings of the old system had become most evident. The news of the destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 promptly reached Bosnia. Therefore, resistance to military reforms contributed to a rebellion by Huseyin-kapetan Gradašćević in 1831. This short-lived rebellion was the most serious conflict between Bosnian Muslim notables and the Ottoman state. Bosnian resistance to reforms was to continue for years to come. The *Gülhane Edict* of 1839 proclaimed the protection of the life, honor and property of all Ottoman subjects. However, the generally conservative mindset of people living next to the Austrian lands (the border with *dar al harb*, 'the abode of war') and their skepticism towards change, combined with the vested interests of local lords and notables, as well as the anti-reform *ulema*, led them to fiercely oppose the *Tanzimat*. The reaction of the Muslim elite to reforms in Bosnia meant that their implementation would be hindered.

Emerging from the Bosnian Franciscan community, Jukić sought to represent the interests of the non-Muslim population of the province. In order to support his argument, he fused the political language of the *Tanzimat*, which emphasized the equality of Ottoman citizens regardless of their denominational allegiance, with a Bosnian 'local patriotism' deriving from popular memories of pre-Ottoman Bosnian statehood. Significantly, the Bosnian Franciscan tradition has been instrumental in preserving the memory of the medieval Bosnian state and the continuity of the name and territory of Bosnia.

It was in this political and intellectual context that Jukić addressed Sultan Abdülmecid (1839–1861) with the present pamphlet appealing for the implementation in Bosnia of what had been promised in Istanbul. In essence he called for the equality of subjects, equality before the courts and removal of the poll-tax. The central message of the text was that Christians in Bosnia

should be relieved of the burdens imposed on them by local notables and that as loyal subjects they should enjoy the same privileges as those of the Islamic faith. It is due to these claims that 'Wishes and pleas of Christians in Bosnia to Sultan Abdülmecid' is commonly held to be the first constitutional proclamation in Bosnia.

During this period, Jukić also attempted to found educational and cultural societies, but his efforts had limited success. He considered Bosnia to be backward compared to all other parts of the Ottoman Europe and thus wanted to start a journal and a society to encourage the Bosniaks to progress. (Jukić used the term 'Bosniak' to denote the different communities of Bosnia; in its current usage, the term is used only to denote Bosnian Muslims.) He also set himself the task of founding primary schools and opened a people's reading room (*narodna učionica*) in the town of Fojnica, in central Bosnia.

However, his work and projects did not attract much support. For one of his pilot projects, the journal *Bosanski Prijatelj*, he managed to win support only from people who respected him personally. Even the Franciscans, his own base, were not very supportive of the projects of their politically active peer. In fact, the Franciscan community in Bosnia was divided into the reformist and the accommodationist factions. The former pursued a pro-active role in calling for change in the status quo while the latter preferred greater cooperation with the authorities. Jukić belonged to the former and, as such, support for his ideas and projects was meager.

The continuous resistance to the *Tanzimat*, which manifested itself in uprisings, led to the appointment of Omer-Pasha Latas to Bosnia with the assignment of crushing the opposition and implementing the reforms. Stemming from the Austrian border area and himself a Serb convert to Islam with experience in dealing with uprisings in the Ottoman Empire, he was determined to carry out his task. He crushed a rebellion in 1850 and, by the beginning of 1851, he had restored control over Bosnia. The rebellions and bloody conflicts led to the wiping out of the Bosnian Muslim elite and the reforms soon were put on track. In 1856 Sultan Abdülmecid proclaimed the Reform Edict, which reaffirmed the equality of Ottoman citizens.

Jukić lived during a period of transition, in the chaotic atmosphere of the last decades of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia. His conception of a Bosnian identity was based on the Bosnian-Illyrian model. The Illyrian aspect referred to the Slavic language while the Bosnian component referred to a particular 'homeland.' Thus, he conceived of a collective identity based on a common language (which has three different names today), the memory of a medieval Bosnian statehood and freedom of religious belief. This projected supra-

denominational and supra-ethnic framework of identity was shattered by the emerging and ever-more powerful national ideologies from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, resulting in the three (Bosnian Muslim, Croat and Serbian) divergent narratives of today.

It is not surprising, then, that Jukić's activism and literary work are held in great esteem, mostly by Bosnian Croats who consider him the foremost literary figure of the period. At the same time, the Franciscan tradition is perceived as an important element of the entire Bosnian state-building project. Hence, the work of Jukić is appreciated much more now than it was during his lifetime.

HK

Wishes and pleas of Christians in Bosnia to Sultan Abdülmecid

In spite of the best wishes and intentions of our honest ruler that Bosnia be put in order, the *Tanzimat* be implemented, and that equality before the courts be granted to Christians, we cannot hope for any progress or expect any ease if the Council of Ministers in Constantinople deals with Bosnia in the future as it has dealt in the past. The purpose of the endeavor of the previous ministries so far has been enrichment; whatever has to be paid for in Austria or France, has also to be paid for now here as well. But here there is no trade, no craftsmanship, no factories, schools, industry or manufacture! How, then, are we able to pay? I would prefer that we pay more to the Treasury, but let the Porte government provide us the means and methods of making us and them happy. But nobody seems to have bothered to care for this. It has now been fifteen years since *nizam* [military conscription] was introduced in Bosnia, but what has been done in this period for the spiritual and material benefit of this province? Not one classroom was established by the government, not one path cleaned! Looking at the Vizier and his officials, at first it seems they are enlightened, inclined to progress like the real French, Prussians, etc. But on closer examination: is the outside appearance different from the inside? Apart from the [*nizam*] uniform, nothing else! The government, thus, needs to take a different course—so that it does not need such costs for military expeditions, which have been futile and damaging to the state. The state will suffer self-inflicted damage, for the Christians, not being able to pay anymore and in severest poverty, will be forced to emigrate to nearby foreign states or die of hunger! This is our greatest calamity, that our good ruler is not well-informed about us, that we cannot convey our sadness and calamities, that we cannot show our wounds so that he can heal them, show our tears so that he wipes them away, make

known our wishes so that he can fulfill them! It is not possible to reach the emperor, for it is necessary first, with a bowed head, to pass by many princes.

We trust in our friends and advocates of humanity that our wishes and pleas will be conveyed to the emperor as they are hereby stated:

Wishes and pleas of Christians in Bosnia, which they respectfully present to His Majesty Sultan Abdülmecid.

Your Highness!

More than 600,000 Christians, living in both *eyalets* [provinces] of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Your loyal subjects, based on their proven loyalty to the sublime Turkish state during the last four centuries, respectfully beg that with Your naturally-endowed goodness, You consider our wishes and allow the following grace:

1. That we be no longer called *reaya*, but citizens and nationals of the whole Turkish empire, and

2. That we be equal with Turks¹ before the law, so that we progress: that court rulings not be according to religion but according to justice.

3. That all *shura* [consultative] councils comprise equal number of members from both religions, Turkish and Christian.

4. That Christians collect their taxes, and Turks collect their own and submit them to the Vizier.

5. That taxes not be collected according to the number of houses, but rather according to wealth.

6. That the *haraj* [poll-tax] be lifted as it is contrary to the equality of citizens.

7. That Christians be admitted into the military, into *nizam* [regular] as well as *redif* [reserve], and that they have their military chaplains.

8. That the tithe owed in grain and hay be included in tax and paid in money.

9. That serfs pay 1/6 only from grain, hay and tobacco, that owners not be obliged to pay taxes on their serfs and that serfs not be obliged to personally deliver their revenue to the owners.

¹ When mentioning Turks, the author refers to those of Islamic faith (Muslims).

10. The landlord can never evict a tenant from the land, unless he proves in court the wrongdoing of the tenant. In such case, the landlord shall pay the tenant compensation for clearing the land, planting fruit trees, and constructing buildings.

11. That *corvée* never be introduced again.

12. That the travel expenses of Viziers, soldiers and imperial *kapıcı* [gate keeper] be paid from the provincial treasury.

13. That the repairing of roads and bridges and the introduction of post and other necessary means for facilitating trade and craftsmanship be started soon and paid for by the provincial government.

14. That a government-sponsored printing press for Christians be introduced.

15. That Eastern Christians shall have the right to elect their own bishops and archbishops who know the language and customs of the province, and that these be endorsed by the emperor.

16. Freedom of religion; and the following freedoms: to repair and enlarge old churches and monasteries and where necessary to build new ones; to have bells and to publicly conduct our religious duties.

17. That the weekly market day be changed from Sunday to some other working day.

18. That each municipality can establish classrooms and schools and recruit necessary teachers from other countries, and that these be paid from the government treasury; that students could be sent to other countries to further their education.

19. That our students also be sent to the imperial schools of medicine and engineering in Constantinople and be paid to do so by the authorities of the Porte.

20. To have two trusted representatives, paid by us, in your sublime government, who would convey our wishes and pleas sincerely and have a say in state courts and convey to us state orders.

21. That all officials, Christians and Turks, be paid from the provincial treasury, so that they do not have to live on bribery.

22. That blood-money² be abolished, and that municipalities do not have to pay it, but rather that a judge should find the killer.

23. That Bosnia and Herzegovina be again united under one Vizier: this would be beneficial in economic terms for the treasury and for the people.

² Blood-money is money given to the family of a murdered person by the guilty party and is meant as restitution.

24. That trade and crafts be open to everyone regardless of religion.

25. That all provincial incomes and expenditures be made public and known to the people.

26. That imperial and state orders be made available to us in the Bosnian language, in addition to Turkish; since until now we never understood completely what was ordered of us.

27. That we be free to meet, without arms, and discuss matters pertaining to schools, literature and economy.

28. That we be allowed to emigrate to other countries, outside the empire.

These are our humble wishes and pleas, based on equality, which your duly-remembered father and yourself, his worthy successor, have made public many times, but unfortunate events did not let become a reality in Bosnia.

[...]

Written in Bosnia, 1 May 1850.

Translated by Hamza Karčić

PROGRAM OF THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE OF PRIZREN

Title: *Programi i Lidhjes Shqiptare të Prizrenit* (Program of the Albanian League of Prizren).

Originally published: *Tercüman-i Şark*, no. 148, 15 September 1878

Language: Ottoman Turkish

The text used is from Stefanaq Pollo and Selami Pulaha, *Akte të Rilindjes Kombëtare* (Tirana: Instituti i Historisë, Akademia e Shkencave e RPSSH, 1978), pp. 62–63.

Context

The creation of the *Albanian League of Prizren* is without doubt the most important event in nineteenth century Albanian history. It was the first time that the Albanians presented a political program with the general aim of achieving autonomy within the Ottoman Empire.

By the end of the 1870s the Albanians lived mostly in the *vilayets* of Shkodra (*Tur.* İşkodra), Manastir (*Gr.* Monastiri, *Mac.* Bitola), Janina (*Gr.* Jannina) and, the most recently founded one (1878), Kosovo (*Alb.* Kosova). In these regions there were also large numbers of Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs and Orthodox Christians who would not identify with any of them. In accordance with the Treaty of San Stefano, large parts of these lands were supposed to be incorporated into Montenegro, Bulgaria and Serbia. Faced with this situation, many meetings (often with the support of the Ottoman authorities) were organized and the Albanian population presented its strong opposition to these decisions. As a result, memoranda were sent to the great European powers. On the eve of the Berlin Congress, a general meeting took place in Prizren, on 10 June 1878. It was supposed to be an assembly of representatives from all over the ‘Albanian lands,’ but there were no delegates from the Shkodra *vilayet* and a few Bosnian delegates also participated. Present was also the *mutasarrif* (administrator of the *sandjak*) of Prizren as rep-

representative of the central authorities. One of the decisions of this assembly was the formation of *Lidhja Veriore dhe Verilindore Shqiptare e Prizrenit* (North and Northeast Albanian League of Prizren).

The League was never a centralized organization; each of its branches was an entity in its own right and the term *Lidhja Shqiptare e Prizrenit* (Albanian League of Prizren)—the common term under which this organization was known—was rather a terminological compromise than a political reality. The position of the League in the beginning was based on religious solidarity. It was even called the *Komiteti i Myslimanëve të Vërtetë* (The Committee of the Real Muslims) and military help was promised to the Bosnian delegates. This position was also present in the first program accepted during the founding meeting of the League, the *Kararnamë* (Charter of decisions). These decisions were taken and supported mainly by the landlords and people closely connected with the Ottoman administration and religious authorities. Soon, however, the situation changed radically with the arrival of delegates from Shkodra. A new draft was presented (now also taking into consideration the decisions of the Congress of Berlin), where the ideas of Abdyl Frashëri about the formation of an autonomous Albanian Vilayet were included.

The eldest of the Frashëri brothers, Abdyl (1839–1892), was one of the most important activists and the first political ideologue of the Albanian Revival. He was born into a *Bektashi* family in Frashër, a village near Përmet (*Gr. Premeti*) in South Albania, but moved together with his family to Janina. From the time of Ali Pasha of Tepelen, Jannina was one of the main centers of Albanian political, economical and cultural life, especially for the inhabitants of the *vilayets* of Manastir and Janina. A very important role in the context of the Albanian national movement can be attributed to the ‘Zosimea School’, where almost all of the south-Albanian literati were educated. The language of instruction was Greek, but Latin and French were also taught. Although the teaching program was rather a classical one, the students were also introduced to the ideas of the French *Encyclopédistes* and Rousseau, which strongly influenced, for example, the work of **Sami Frashëri**. It was in this town that Abdyl started his political activity during the second half of the 1870s. In the first Ottoman parliament of 1876–1877 he was one of the six deputies appointed for the Janina *vilayet*. In May 1877, together with Mehmet Ali Bey Vrioni and other important Albanian figures of the town, he formed the *Komiteti Shqiptar i Janinës* (The Albanian Committee of Janina) with the aim of defending Albanian rights. He became internationally known as a publicist, mostly in Vienna and Istanbul, where he defended the Albanian position against the decisions of the Treaty of San Ste-

fano. At the same time, after the signing of the Treaty he negotiated with representatives of the Greek government regarding the coordination of efforts towards liberation. In spring 1878 he was one of the main founders, together with **Pashko Vasa** (*Tur.* Wassa Efendi), **Sami Frashëri** (*Tur.* Şemseddin Sami), and Jani Vreto (*Gr.* Ioannis Vrettos), of the *Komiteti Shqiptar i Stambollit* (The Albanian Committee of Istanbul), which became the leading organization of the Albanian movement. After visiting a number of European capitals, in May 1879 he returned to Albania and became the most important leader and ideologue of the 'Albanian League of Prizren'. Thanks to his efforts, the League's position shifted towards a more encompassing one.

Very soon after the first meeting, new branches of the 'League' spread all over the country and the *pragmatist* (or 'patriotic') trend took lead of the 'League'. Now the main aim was, from a military point of view, not the defense of 'Muslim' lands but of 'Albanian' ones; and, from a political point of view, the foundation of an autonomous *Albanian Vilayet*. The attitude of the 'League' towards the Ottoman authorities changed radically. After the assassination on 6 September 1878 of Mehmet Ali Pasha, delegate of the Ottoman Empire to the Congress of Berlin, who was sent to Kosovo to implement the decision concerning the Montenegrin claims, it became clear that the 'League' was at war with any power which would support the division of Albanian-populated territories. The patriotic faction inside the 'League' prepared its new program (which was published in *Tercüman-ı Şark*), and general meetings in Frashër, Gjirokastër (*Gr.* Argyrokastro) and Preveza sanctioned these ideas. The 'League' succeeded in defending Hot, Gruda, Plava, Gucia (*Srb.* Gusinje), but despite heavy fighting Ulqin (*Srb.* Ulcinj) was eventually incorporated into Montenegro.

The 'League' had a crucial importance for the Albanian national movement. The idea of the unification of the four *vilayets* into an autonomous Albanian *vilayet* appears subsequently in every program up to the proclamation of independence in 1912. This program is defined by Serbian, Greek and Macedonian national historiography as the first attempt towards creating a "Greater Albania," failing to take into account the fact that a large number of Serbian, Greek and Slav-Macedonian populations lived within these *vilayets*. Indeed, one of the important consequences of this program was a growing tension between the Albanian national project and the state-building ideologies of the neighboring nations. Each of these included nationalistic elements, which eventually led to ethnic and political conflicts. Some Albanian beys demanded the unification not only of the four *vilayets* but also of the *vilayet* of Selanik [Salonica], where there was no Albanian population at all.

Abdyl Frashëri was conscious of this fact and, by the end of his life (1892), he presented a new program. The envisaged new *vilayet* contained only ten *sandjaks*, which corresponded more or less to today's Albania together with Kosovo (Kosova) and a part of the territory of northern Greece and western Macedonia.

During the winter of 1877–1878 the Serbian army expelled a large number of Muslims (and among them many Albanians) from the region of Niš, Toplica and Leposavić (at that time the *sandjak* of Novi Pazar). Almost all these Albanians were settled in Kosovo, which contributed to the deterioration of relations between them and the Slavic population. The entry of Serbian forces into Kosovo and the short occupation of Pejë (*Tur.* Ipek, *Srb.* Peć, *Gr.* Ipekion) revealed to Albanian activists the political ambitions of the Serbian government and its territorial claims in this region. On the other hand, the 'League' also focused on Kosovo, stressing its importance from a political, social, and economical point of view, considering it a prospective market for northern Albania.

From the very beginning of the existence of the new Albanian state, but especially during the years of the communist regime, the 'League' was idealized by Albanian historians and practically no attention was paid to its original religious outlook and the role played by the Ottoman authorities in the beginning of the movement. It was treated as a pure patriotic Albanian organization. Other Albanian ideologists and scholars (especially from Kosovo, for example, Rexhep Qosja) used the 'League' as an argument in the Kosovo issue, defending not only the Albanian presence in the region, but also Kosovo's crucial place in Albanian history.

RH

**The Program of the Albanian League, published
in the journal *Tercüman-i Şark*,
demanding that Albania be accorded the rights
of an autonomous *vilayet* under the name of "The *Vilayet* of Albania."**

According to the news circulating in Istanbul, the demands of the Albanian League focus on the following seven points:

1) To preserve the right of sovereignty of His Majesty the Padişah (Sultan) over Albania and not to cede to the neighboring peoples an inch of Albanian territories.

2) To institute a vilayet named “The *Vilayet* of Albania,” which will consist of the *vilayets* of Kosova, Shkodra and Janina. To name as governor of this *vilayet* a person who is educated, capable and honest, and who has a good knowledge of the situation and the needs of the country and the habits and customs of the population.

3) To designate within the administration and the magistracy of this *vilayet* functionaries who have a good knowledge of the language of the country, to the point of understanding the demands of needy persons and being able to talk with them without an interpreter.

4) The local population must elect on an equal footing, without taking into account religious or class distinctions, the *nahiye* [regional] councils. The latter must, in the same manner, elect the *kaza* councils, which, in turn, must elect the *sandjak* councils. As for the Grand Council of the *vilayet*, it shall be elected by the *sandjak* councils.

5) To institute a council comprising of elected members which will meet each year for two months running in the main town of the *vilayet*. This council will inform the *vilayet*’s Grand Council of what the population needs for its existence, the reforms which must be carried out, as well as the faults and the mistakes of the employees. This council will designate its representative as the General Prosecutor, who, in concert with the other necessary employees, will render justice. Briefly, this council will act as a tribunal before the Grand Council. The imperial government is also bound to execute the decisions of this council.

6) The Ottoman language will remain the official language in correspondence between the *vilayet* and the Sublime Porte. Nevertheless, the councils of the magistracy must use the Albanian language when judging affairs within their competence. In the secondary schools that presently exist in Albania, as in those that will be established later on, together with the study of the Ottoman language, the sciences and the arts, courses for teaching the students to read and write the Albanian language must be introduced. A part of the *vilayet*’s revenues must be allocated to the propagation and the furthering of education, which will permit Albania to emerge from the ignorance in which it finds itself.

7) To organize a class of the national army, without taking into account religious distinctions. This army, which will certainly number in its ranks 200,000 men, will be trained in accordance with its particular organizational rules. The State will designate officers as instructors who will train the soldiers.

Translated by Mary Kitroeff

This volume represents the first in a series of four books that contain the most important texts that shaped the processes of nation-building in Central and Southeast Europe. The series aims to integrate the history of these cultures with that of general European civilization. Thus it counteracts the habit whereby European intellectual phenomena and historical movements are generally analyzed where they originated and experienced their earliest and most intensive development while the peculiar manifestations of these currents in the 'Other Europe' are neglected.

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ISBN 963-7326-52-9

